



ART AND CULTURE (SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL)

VISIONIAS

Copyright © by Vision IAS

All rights are reserved. No part of this document may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior permission of Vision IAS

ART AND CULTURE – SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

Contents

1] Architecture and Sculpture	4
2] Classification of India Architecture	4
3] Harappan Civilization (Indus Valley Civilization) Art	5
3.1 Seals	5
3.2 Sculpture	5
3.3 Terracotta	6
3.4 Pottery.....	6
3.5 Beads and Ornaments.....	7
3.6 Extensive Town Planning.....	7
4] Mauryan Art.....	8
4.1 Pillars	9
4.2 Stupas.....	10
4.3 Caves	11
4.4 Sculpture	12
4.5 Pottery.....	12
5] Post – Mauryan Art	12
5.1 Caves Tradition	13
5.2 Stupas.....	13
5.3 Sculpture	14
6] Gupta Age	15
6.1 Rock Cut Cave.....	16
6.2 Sculpture	18
6.3 Temple Architecture	18

6.4 Styles of Temples.....	19
Temple Architecture in South India.....	21
7.0 Dravida Style.....	21
7.1 Nayaka Style	23
7.2 Vijaynagar Legacy	24
8.0 Vesara Style/Chalukya Style/Karnataka Style.....	24
Architecture in Medieval India.....	24
9.0 Indo-Islamic Style	24
9.1 Imperial Style	26
9.2 Provincial Style	28
9.3 Mughal Period.....	29
Modern India and European Influence	33
Some Famous Architects of Modern India.....	36
INDIAN CLASSICAL DANCE.....	37
Bharatnatyam Dance.....	37
Kuchipudi	39
Kathakali Dance.....	40
Kathak Dance	43
Manipuri.....	44
Odissi.....	46
Sattriya	48
Mohiniyattam.....	49
INDIAN PAINTING	50
Sadanga of Indian painting.....	51
Genres of Indian Painting	51
10 Murals.....	51

10.1 Badami paintings.....	52
10.2 Murals under the Pallava, Pandava and Chola kings.....	52
10.3 Vijayanagara murals	53
10.4 Nayaka Murals.....	54
10.5 Kerala Murals.....	54
11 Miniature Painting.....	54
11.1 The Pala School (11 th – 12 th Century)	54
11.2 Western Indian School of Painting	55
11.3 Mughal Painting	56
11.4 Rājput Painting	57
12 Modern Painting.....	60
Phases	64
Identity.....	65
Changes.....	65
Different forms of Traditional Theatre	66

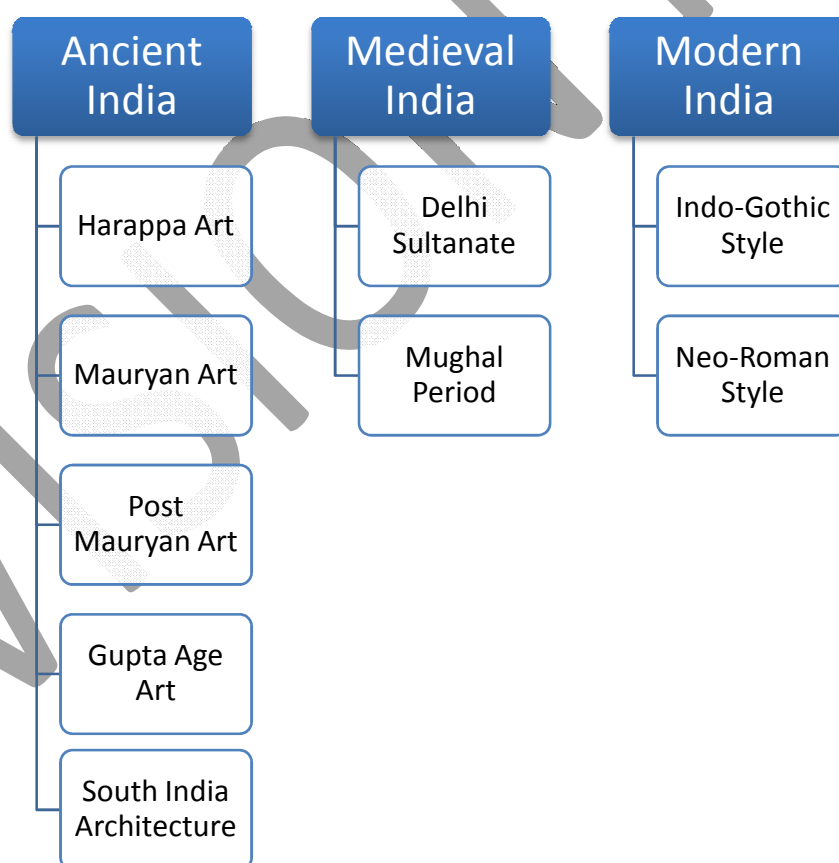
Architecture is not a modern phenomenon. It began as soon as the early cave man began to build his/her own shelter to live in. Indian Architecture evolved in various stages in different parts and regions of the country. Apart from the natural and obvious evolutions from the pre historic and historic periods, evolution of Indian Architecture was generally affected by many great and important historic developments. Naturally, the emergence and decay of great empires and dynasty in the subcontinent, each in their way influenced the growth and shaped the evolution of Indian architecture.

1] Architecture and Sculpture

Architecture refers to designing of and construction of buildings, whereas sculpture is a 3D work of art. In Architecture, various types of materials are used i.e. stone, wood, glass, metal etc. whereas sculpture is made of single piece of material. Architecture involves study of engineering and engineering mathematics and depends upon measurement, whereas sculpture involves creativity, imagination and may not depend on measurement.

2] Classification of India Architecture

Indian Architecture can be classified into as follows -



3] Harappan Civilization (Indus Valley Civilization) Art

Harappan civilization emerged during second half of the third millennium BCE and was a Bronze Age Civilization. Along with Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia it was one of the three early civilizations of the world. It flourished in the basins of the Indus River, one of the major rivers of Asia, and the Ghaggar - Hakra River, which once coursed through northwest India and eastern Pakistan. The two major sites of the Indus valley civilization are along the Indus River. The cities of Harappa in the north and Mohenjo-Daro in the south showcase one of the earliest examples of civil planning. While Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro are situated in Pakistan, the important sites excavated in India are Lothal and Dholavira in Gujarat, Rakhigarhi in Haryana, Ropar in Punjab, Kalibangan and Balathal in Rajasthan, etc. At its peak, the Indus Civilization may have had a population of over five million.

3.1 Seals

Seals are square, rectangular or circular or triangular piece of material (mainly stones). The standard Harappan seal was a square plaque 2x2 square inches, usually made from the soft river stone, steatite. Every seal is engraved in pictographic script along with animal impressions which are yet to be deciphered. Some of seals have also been found in gold and Ivory. On an average 5 signs or symbols are present on a seal. Direction of writing is right to left. They all bear a great variety of motifs, most often of animals including those of the bull, the elephant, tiger, goat and also monsters. Sometimes trees or human figures were also depicted. Most important example is Pashupati Seal and Unicorn Seal which are shown below.



Unicorn Seal



Pashupati Seal

Significance of Seals

- 1) They were mainly used as unit of trade and commerce.
- 2) They were also used as an amulet (to ward off the evil).
- 3) They were also used as an educational tool (presence of pie sign).

3.2 Sculpture

The stone statuary found at Harappa and Mohenjodaro are excellent examples of handling three-dimensional volumes. In stone are two male figures— one is a torso in red sandstone and the other is a bust of a bearded man in steatite—which are extensively discussed.

The art of bronze casting was practiced on a wide scale under Harappan art. The technique used for casting is known as "*Lost wax technique*". Under this technique, at first wax figures are covered with a coating of clay and allowed to dry. Then it is heated and the molten wax is allowed to drain out through a tiny hole at the bottom of the clay cover. The hollow mould is then filled with bronze or any other metal. Once the metal is cooled, the clay is removed. Kalibangan and Daimabad yielded excellent



Bearded Man



Dancing Girl

examples of metal-cast sculptures. In bronze we find human as well as animal figures, the best example of the former being the statue of a girl popularly titled 'Dancing Girl'. Amongst animal figures in bronze the buffalo with its uplifted head, back and sweeping horns and the goat are of artistic merit.

3.3 Terracotta

Terracotta is a fire baked clay and is handmade using pinching method. The Indus Valley people made terracotta images also but as compared to stone and bronze statues the terracotta representations of human form are crude. They are more realistic in Gujarat sites and Kalibangan. Examples are Mother Goddess, Toy carts with wheels, whistles, birds and animals, etc.



Mother Goddess



Toy carts with wheels

3.4 Pottery

A large quantity of pottery excavated from the sites indicates gradual evolution of various design motifs as employed in different shapes and styles. Potteries were mainly plain, red and

Rajinder Nagar: 1/8-B, 2nd Floor, Apsara Arcade, Near Gate 6, Karol Bagh Metro, Delhi

Mukherjee Nagar: 103, 1st Floor, B/1-2, Ansal Building, Behind UCO Bank, Delhi-9

09650617807, 09968029039, 09717162595

black painted. The Indus Valley pottery consists chiefly of very fine wheel-made wares, very few being hand-made. Plain pottery is more common than painted ware. Plain pottery is generally of red clay, with or without a fine red or grey slip. It includes knobbed ware, ornamented with rows of knobs. The black painted ware has a fine coating of red slip on which geometric and animal designs are executed in glossy black paint.

Use of Pottery

1. For household purpose (storage of water, food grains etc).
2. For decoration- Miniature vessels used for decoration (Less than ½ inch).
3. Used as perforated pottery (large hole at the bottom and small holes all over the wall, and probably was used for straining liquor.)

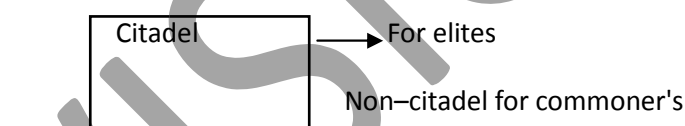
3.5 Beads and Ornaments

The Harappan men and women decorated themselves with a large variety of ornaments produced from every conceivable material ranging from precious metals, gemstones, bone and even baked clay. Necklaces, armlets and finger rings were common and worn by both males and females. While women wore girdles, earrings and anklets.

The bead industry seems to have been well developed as evident from the factories discovered at Chanhudaro and Lothal. Beads were made of cornelian, amethyst, steatite, turquoise etc. The beads are in varying shapes – disc shaped, cylindrical, spherical, barrel shaped and segmented. Great technical skill has been displayed in the manufacture of these beads.

Evidences of dead bodies buried along with ornaments have also been found. Harappans were also conscious of fashion (as different hair styles, wearing of a beard etc have been found). Cinnabar was used as cosmetic, Lipstick, face-paint and even eyeliner's were all known to them.

3.6 Extensive Town Planning



A sophisticated and technologically advanced urban culture is evident in the Indus Valley Civilization making them the first urban centers in the region. Within the city, individual homes or groups of homes obtained the water from wells. The ancient Indus systems of sewerage and drainage were far more advanced than any found in contemporary urban sites. Roads used to cut at right angles. Houses were built of baked bricks of fixed sizes. Use of stone and wood in buildings has also been found. The concept of two-storied houses was also present. Citadels were supposed to be the habitation of elites but its purpose still remains debated. Although the citadels were walled, it is far from clear that these structures were defensive. They may have been built to divert flood waters. *Granaries* were another important creation which used to be located in citadel. Their construction was intelligent and it has strategic air-ducts and platforms. Public bath was a common feature e.g. Great bath at Mohenjo-Daro (It has galleries and rooms on all sides). Most city dwellers appear to have been traders or artisans, who lived with others pursuing the same occupation. Spinning of cotton and wool was common among the Harappan people.



The Great Bath, at Mohenjo-Daro



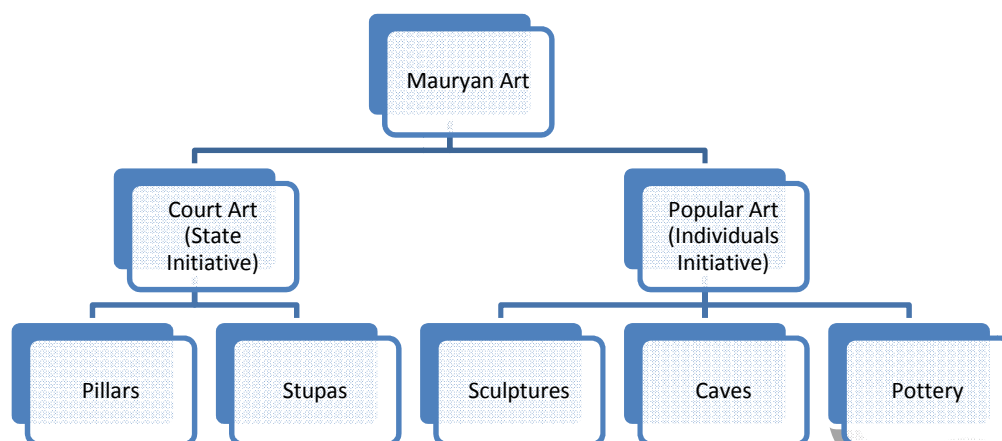
Granaries

4] Mauryan Art

No significant architectural remains have been found corresponding to the period between the Harappans and the Mauryas. This is probably because buildings were not made of stone in this period.

6th century BCE marked the beginning of new socio-religious movements in the Gangetic valley in the form of Buddhism and Jainism which were part of *Shraman* tradition¹. By 4th century BCE, Mauryas established their power and Ashoka patronized *Shraman* tradition in 3rd century BCE and encouraged the development of distinct sculptural and architectural styles. Religious practices had many dimensions and were not confined to one particular mode of worship. Worship of *Yakshas* and mother goddesses were prevalent at that time, which later got assimilated into Buddhism and Jainism. Mauryan art represents an important transition in Indian art from use of wood to stone.

¹**Shraman tradition** – *Srama* means "one who strives" or "Laborer" in Sanskrit and Pali. The term was applied to those who whole heartedly practiced towards enlightenment and was used for monks. *Shraman* tradition is best kept in term *parivrajaka*, meaning a homeless wanderer. *Shraman* tradition gave rise to Jainism and Buddhism and some *nāstika* schools of Hinduism such as *Carvaka* and *Ajivika*. And it is also popular in major Indian religions and concepts such as *Sa-Sara* (the cycle of birth and death) and *moksha* (liberation from that cycle).



4.1 Pillars

The court art of Ashoka is best seen in the white-grey sandstone columns erected by him all over his empire either to mark a sacred site associated with Buddha's life or to commemorate a great event. On many of these pillars are inscribed the famous edicts of Ashoka propagating the *Dhamma* (laws of the Buddha) or the imperial sermons of Ashoka to his people.

Rising to an average height of about 40 feet, the pillars in their most developed state, are tall, tapering monoliths with sculptured capitals, incorporating a series of fluted petals in elongated shape, (which falling together takes the form of a bell, commonly known as the Persepolitan Bell) surmounted by a square or circular abacus ornamented with animal and floral motifs in relief. The top portion of the pillar was carved with capital figures like the bull, the lion, the elephant etc. Noteworthy are the lion capital of Sarnath, the bull capital of Rampurva and the lion capital of Laurya Nandangarh.

These pillars were carved in two types of stone. Some were of spotted red and white sandstone from the region of Mathura, the others of buff colored fine grained hard sandstone usually with small black spots quarried in Chunar near Varanasi. The uniformity of style in the pillar capital suggests that they were all sculpted by the craftsmen from the same region.

The tradition of constructing pillars is very old and it may be observed that erection of pillars was prevalent in the Achaemenian empire as well. But the Mauryan pillars are different from the Achaemenian pillars. The Mauryan pillars are rock-cut pillars thus displaying the carver's skills, whereas the Achaemenian pillars are constructed in pieces by a mason.

Sarnath Lion Capital

The Mauryan pillar capital found at Sarnath popularly known as the Lion Capital is the finest example of Mauryan sculptural tradition. Built in commemoration of the historical event of the first sermon or the *Dhammachakrapravartana* by Buddha at Sarnath, the capital was built by Ashoka.



Pillar capital and abacus with stylised lotus



Lion Capital, Sarnath

The capital originally consisted of five component parts: (i) the shaft (which is broken in many parts now), (ii) a lotus bell base, (iii) a drum on the bell base with four animals proceeding clockwise, (iv) the figures of four majestic addorsed lions, and (v) the crowning element, *Dharmachakra*, a large wheel, was also a part of this pillar. However, this wheel is lying in a broken condition. The capital without the crowning wheel and the lotus base has been adopted as the **National Emblem** of Independent India.

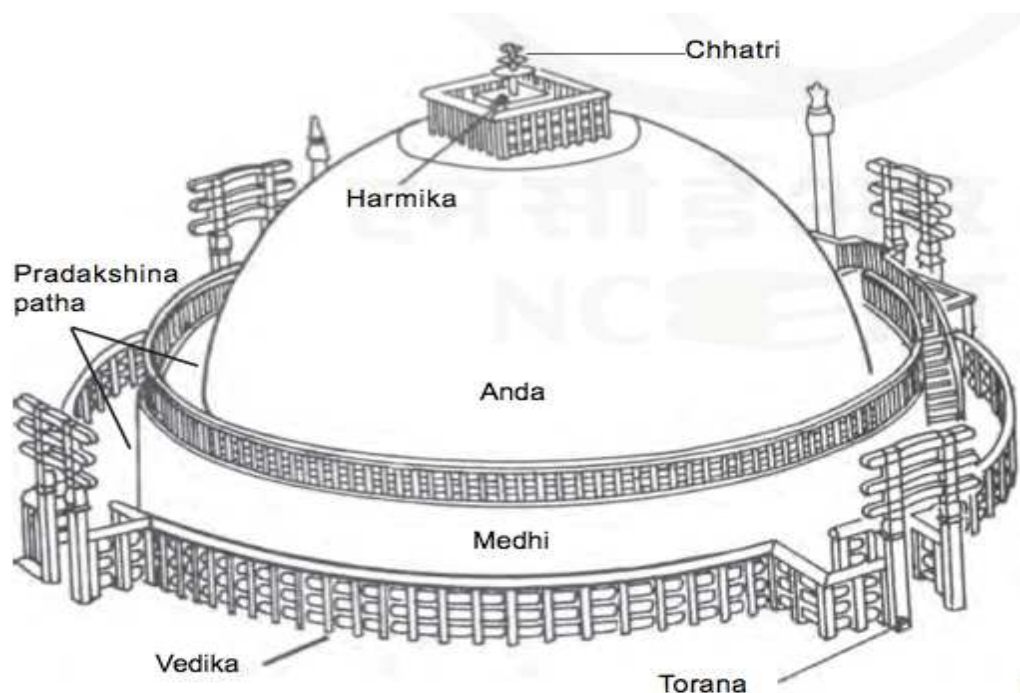
The surface of the sculpture is heavily polished which is typical of the Mauryan Period. The abacus has the depiction of a *chakra* (wheel) having twenty four spokes in all four directions and a bull, a horse, an elephant and a lion between every *chakra* is finely carved. The motif of the *chakra* becomes significant as a representation of *Dharmachakra* in the entire Buddhist art.

4.2 Stupas

The *stupa* was not unknown in India before the time of Ashoka. From the time Ashoka divided up the existing body relics of the Buddha and erected monuments to enshrine them, the *stupas* became the objects of cult worship. In Buddhist tradition, originally the 9 *stupas* were built after the death of Buddha - 8 of them over the relics and 9th over the vessel in which the relics were originally deposited. *Stupas* were constructed over the relics of the Buddha at Rajagaha, Vaishali, Kapilvastu, Allakapa, Ramagrama, Vethadipa, Pava, Kushinagar and Pipplavina.

The core of the *stupa* was made up of unburnt brick and the outer face of burnt brick, covered with thick layer of plaster. The *stupa* was crowned by an umbrella of wooden fence enclosing a path for *pradaskshina* (circumambulatory path). One of the best examples of the structure of a *stupa* in the third century BCE is at Bairat in Rajasthan. It is a very grand *stupa* having a circular mound with a circumambulatory path. The great *stupa* at Sanchi was built with bricks during the time of Ashoka and later it was covered with stone and many new additions were made.

In the subsequent century, *stupas* were elaborately built with certain additions like the enclosing of the circumambulatory path with railings and sculptural decoration. There were numerous *stupas* constructed earlier but expansions or new additions were made in the second century BCE. The *stupa* consists of a cylindrical drum and a circular *anda* with a *harmika* and *chhatra* on the top which remain consistent throughout with minor variations and changes in shape and size. The three *chhatra* on the *stupas* represent *triratna* of Buddhism i.e. Buddha (The enlightened), *Dhamma* (doctrine) and *Sangh* (order). Apart from the circumambulatory path, gateways were added. Thus, with the elaborations in *stupa* architecture, there was ample space for the architects and sculptors to plan elaborations and to carve out images.



Plan of Stupa

During the early phase of Buddhism, Buddha is depicted symbolically through footprints, *stupas*, lotus throne, *chakra*, etc. This indicates either simple worship, or paying respect, or at times depicts historicisation of life events. Gradually narrative became a part of the Buddhist tradition. Thus events from the life of the Buddha, the *Jataka* stories, were depicted on the railings and *torans* of the *stupas*. Mainly synoptic narrative, continuous narrative and episodic narrative are used in the pictorial tradition. While events from the life of the Buddha became an important theme in all the Buddhist monuments, the *Jataka* stories also became equally important for sculptural decorations. The main events associated with the Buddha's life which were frequently depicted were events related to the birth, renunciation, enlightenment, *dhammachakrapravartana*, and *mahaparinibbana* (death). Among the *Jataka* stories that are frequently depicted are Chhadanta *Jataka*, Vidurpundita *Jataka*, Ruru *Jataka*, Sibi *Jataka*, Vessantara *Jataka* and Shama *Jataka*.

4.3 Caves

Mauryan period also saw the firm establishment of rock-cut architecture. The notable rock-cut caves carved at Barabar and Nagarjuni hills near Gaya in Bihar are Sudama and Lomas Rishi cave. Architecturally, their main interest lies in being the earliest known examples in India of rock-cut method. The facade of the Lomas Rishi cave is decorated with the semicircular *chaitya* arch as the entrance. The elephant frieze carved in high relief on the *chaitya* arch shows considerable movement. The interior hall of this cave is



Lomas Rishi cave - entrance detail

rectangular with a circular chamber at the back. The entrance is located on the side wall of the hall. The cave was patronised by Ashoka for the Ajivika sect. The two important features of the caves of this period were –

- 1) Polishing inside the cave.
- 2) Development of artistic gateway.

4.4 Sculpture

The work of local sculptors illustrates the popular art of the Mauryan Period. This consisted of sculpture which probably was not commissioned by the Emperor. The patrons of the popular art were the local governors. Large statues of *Yaksha* and *Yakshini* are found at many places like Patna, Vidisha and Mathura. These monumental images are mostly in the standing position. One of the distinguishing elements in all these images is their polished surface. The depiction of faces is in full round with pronounced cheeks and physiognomic detail. The life-size standing image of a *Yakshini* holding a *chauri* (flywhisk) from Didargunj near modern Patna is one of the finest examples of the sculptural tradition of the Mauryan Period. It is a tall, well-proportioned, free-standing sculpture in round made in sandstone with a polished surface. *Yakshini* is considered as folk goddess in all major religions.



Didargunj Yakshini

4.5 Pottery

The pottery associated with the Mauryan period consists of many types of wares. But the most highly developed technique is seen in a special type of pottery known as **Northern Black polished ware (NBPW)**, which was the hallmark of the preceding and early Mauryan Periods. The NBPW is made of finely levigated alluvial clay. It can be distinguished from other polished or graphite coated red wares by its peculiar luster and brilliance. It was largely used for dishes and small bowls.

5] Post – Mauryan Art

From the second century BCE onwards, various rulers established their control over the vast Mauryan Empire: the Shungas, Kanvas, and Guptas in the north and parts of central; the Satavahanas, Ikshavakus, Abhiras, Vakataks in southern and western India. Incidentally it also marked the beginning of main Brahmanical sects such as the Vaishnavas and the Shaivas. However the most important part of that period was arrival of foreign tribal groups like the Indo Greeks. They mingled themselves with the various changes - socio cultural, political and economic level, which heralded almost a new kind of architecture typically termed as the “Post Mauryan Architecture”.

The construction of Caves, Stupas and sculpture continued from where it was in the Mauryan Period. Notable was the advancement in Sculpture making which reached its climax during this period. Some of the finest sculptures are found at Vidisha, Barhat (M.P.), Bodha Gaya (Bihar) Jaggayapeta (A.P.), Mathura (U.P.) Khandgiri-Udaigiri (Odisha), Bhaja near Pune, Pavani near Nagpur (Maharashtra).

5.1 Caves Tradition

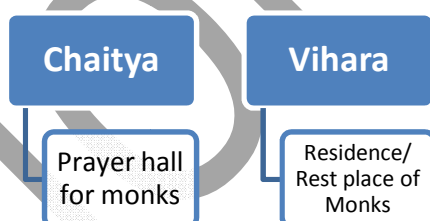
In western India, many Buddhist caves dating back to the second century BCE onwards have been excavated. Mainly three architectural types were executed – (1) Apsidal Vault – Roof **Chaitya** halls (found at Ajanta, Pithalkhora, Bhaja); (2) Apsidal Vault – Roof pillarless hall (found at Thana – Nadsur); and (3) Flat- Roofed quadrangular hall with a circular chamber at back (found at Kondivite). In all the chaitya caves a stupa at the back is common.



Chaitya hall, Karla

The second important development in the caves was excavation of **Viharas**. The plan of *viharas* consists of a veranda, a hall and cells around the walls of the halls. Some of the important *vihara* caves are Ajanta Cave no. 12, Bedsa cave no. 11, Nashik cave no. 3, 10, 17.

Purpose of cave structures:



5.2 Stupas

The original brick Stupa built during Ashoka's time was at first enclosed by wooden fence and later replaced by the massive stone balustrade. All the four gateways were now carved with beautiful sculptures. Stupa – 1 at Sanchi has upper as well as lower *pradakshinapatha* or circumbulatory path. It has four beautifully decorated *toranas* depicting various events from the life of the Buddha and the *jatakas*. Figure compositions are in high relief, filling up the entire space. Depiction of picture gets naturalistic and there is no stiffness in the body. Carving technique appeared more advanced. Symbols continued to be used representing the Buddha and the **Manushi Buddhas**². According to tradition, there are 24 Buddhas but only 1st one *dipankar* and last six are pictorially represented at Sanchi -1.

²**Manushi Buddha or Past Buddhas**—Human Buddha with *nirvana kaya*, a body of transformation, lived among men, once performed his tasks, enters nirvana and is then beyond the power of men

5.3 Sculpture

The apex of the sculpture making is said to be found in this period. The first century CE onwards, Gandhara (now in Pakistan), Mathura in northern India and Vengi in Andhra Pradesh emerged as important centres of art production. Buddha in the symbolic form got a human form in Mathura and Gandhara. The sculptural tradition in Gandhara had the confluence of Bactria, Parthia and the local Gandhara Tradition. The Gandhara region had long been a crossroads of cultural influences. During the reign of Emperor Ashoka, the region became the scene of intensive Buddhist missionary activity. And in the 1st century CE, rulers of Kushan empire which included Gandhara, maintained contacts with Rome. In its interpretation of Buddhist legends, the Gandhara school incorporated many motifs and techniques from classical Roman Art. On the other hand, the local sculptural tradition at Mathura became so strong that the tradition spread to other parts of northern India.



Gandhara



Mathura



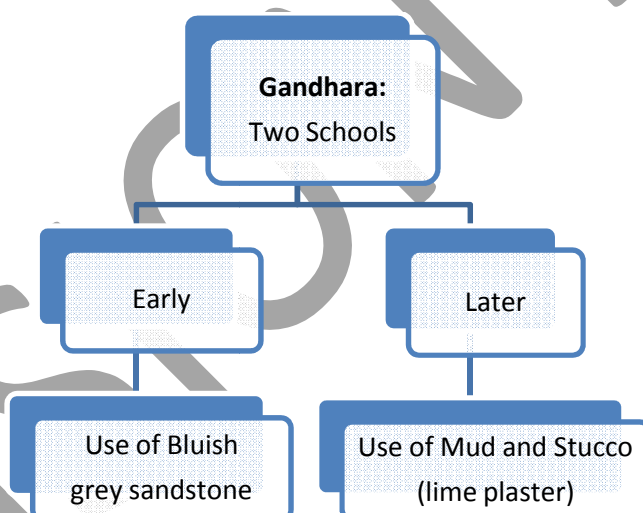
Amravati

Images of Vaishnava (mainly Vishnu and his various forms) and Shaiva (mainly the *lingas* and *mukhalingas*) faith are also found at Mathura but Buddhist images are found in large numbers.

Basis	Gandhara	Mathura	Vengi (Amravati)
Influence	Greek or Hellenistic influence also called Indo-Greek	No outside influence; Indigenous	Indigenous
Types of Sandstone	Grey/Bluish grey sandstone	Spotted red sandstone	White marbles
Religious influence	Mainly Buddhist	All 3 religions – Jainism, Buddhism, Hinduism	Mainly Buddhist
Patronized by	Kushana dynasty	Kushana Dynasty	Satavahans and Icchavakus
Areas	North West frontier	Mathura, Sonkh, Kankalitila (Mostly Jaina)	Krishna-Godavari lower valley
Features of Sculptures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Spiritual Buddha (Sad Buddha) represents calmness, Bearded, Moustache 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Delighted Buddha i.e. not spiritual head and face Shaven dress is tight; energetic body face reflects grace 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reflects narratives theme based on life of Buddha and Jataka stories. Stories of

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> wearing less ornaments wavy hair (Greek) large forehead (Greek) Buddha is seated in position of yogi Having large ears (Greek) Eyes half closed Protuberance on his head (signifies that Buddha knows all) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> seated in Padmasana. Right hand in Abhaya Mudra (Indicate reassurance) raised above shoulder, Left hand on left thigh (reflect muscularity). Protuberance on head. 	<p>previous births of Buddha - both in human as well as animal form.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sculptural composition is more complex and characterized by intense emotions, bodies are shown with three bents (i.e. <i>tribhanga</i>)
--	--	--	--

Later Development in Gandhara Sculpture:



6] Gupta Age

The Gupta period may be described as 'classic' in the sense of the degree of perfection it achieved - something that was never achieved before and has seldom been achieved since - and in perfect balance and harmony of all elements in style and iconography. That is why it is also considered as "The Golden Age of Indian Architecture".

The Guptas were Brahmanical by Religion (Hindus) with special devotion to Vishnu, but they showed exemplary tolerance for both Buddhism and Jainism. Puranic Hinduism with its three deities – Vishnu, Shiva and Shakti, as the consort of Shiva came to forefront. The art of period is marked by a deep spiritual quality and a vision which tries to record the higher and deeper truths of life. While the early Gupta period shows an emphasis on Hindu art, the climax of

Buddhist art, with all the previous tendencies combined into a classical statement, comes during the later period.

The rock cut cave temple and monastery tradition also continued in this period, notably in western India, where the excavations – especially at *Ajanta* acquire extreme richness and magnificence. The monasteries are characterized by the introduction of images into some of the cells, so that they are of the nature of the temples instead of being simple residences. While there were some striking cave architectural pieces, the Gupta period is specially marked for the development of new temple styles.

6.1 Rock Cut Cave

6.1.1 Ajanta Caves

It is located in Aurangabad district of Maharashtra state. Ajanta has twenty nine caves. It has four *chaitya* caves datable to earlier phase, i.e. second and first century BCE and the later phase i.e. the fifth century. It has large *chaitya-viharas* and is decorated with sculptures and paintings. Ajanta is the only surviving example of the paintings of the first century BCE and the fifth century CE.



Perpendicular Cliff

Slope

Ajanta Caves

These caves are carved on a perpendicular cliff. As they are on perpendicular side, there are no courtyards. All the three forms of Art are combined in these caves : Architecture, Sculpture, Paintings.

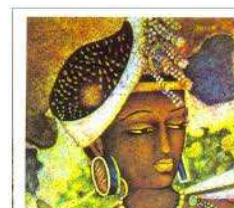
Fresco Mural Paintings inside the Cave



Padampani



Mural Paintings of Ajanta



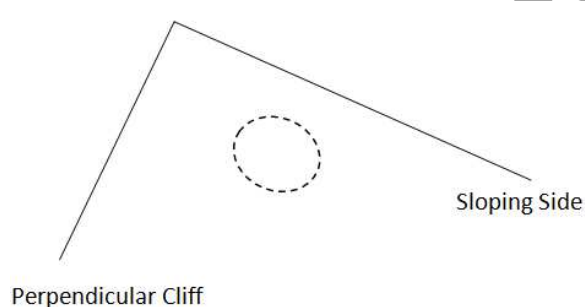
Flying Apsara

Fresco is a technique of mural painting executed upon freshly laid lime plaster. Water is used as the vehicle for the pigment and with the setting of the plaster, the painting becomes an integral part of the wall.

6.1.2 Ellora Caves

Another important cave site located in Aurangabad district is Ellora. It is located a hundred kilometers from Ajanta and has thirty-two Buddhist, Bramhanical and Jain caves. It is a unique art historical site in the country as it has monasteries associated with the three religions dating from fifth century CE onwards to the eleventh century CE. It is also unique in terms of stylistic eclecticism, i.e. confluence of many styles at one place. There are twelve Buddhist caves having many images belonging to Vajrayana Buddhism like Tara, Mahamayuri, Akshobhya etc. Buddhist caves are big in size and are of single, double and triple storey. Their pillars are massive. Ajanta also has the excavated double storey caves but at Ellora, the triple storey is a unique achievement.

All the caves were plastered and painted but nothing visible is left. Unlike the Ajanta caves, the Ellora cave temples were carved out on the sloping side of the hill. Hence most of the temples have courtyards. The sculptures at Ellora are monumental, and have protruding volume that create deep recession in the picture space. The images are heavy and show considerable sophistication. Cave no 16 is a rock cut temple, known as *Kailash leni* and it has been carved out of a single rock, a unique achievement of the artisans.



Kailash Temple

6.1.3 Elephanta Caves

The Elephanta caves located near Mumbai, were originally a Buddhist site which was later dominated by the Shaivite faith. It is contemporary with Ellora and its sculptures show slenderness in the body, with stark light and dark effects.

6.1.4 Bagh Caves

It is located near Indore in Madhya Pradesh. There are 9 sandstone Buddhist Caves with beautiful Frescos and sculptured work. It is dated around sixth century CE.

6.1.5 Junagarh Caves (Uparkot)

It is ancient fortress. Its entrance, in the form of an archway is a fine specimen of Hindu *torana*. Uparkot has many interesting Buddhist caves and was evidently the site of a Buddhist monastery in ancient times.

6.1.6 Nashik Caves

It is located to SW of Nashik, in Trimbak range of hills. There are 23 Buddhist caves belonging to Hinayana Period of Buddhist architecture and dating back to the 1st Century CE. These are called as *Pandu leni* meaning group of caves.

6.1.7 Montepzir/Mandapeshwar Cave

The caves are of particular interest as they are probably the only Brahmanical caves to be converted into a Christian shrine.

6.2 Sculpture

One new school was added i.e. **Sarnath school of sculpture**, which developed near Sarnath. Many Buddha images in Sarnath have plain transparent drapery covering both shoulders and halo around the head has very little ornamentation whereas the Mathura Buddha images continue to depict the folds of the drapery in the Buddha images and the halo around the head is profusely decorated. Noteworthy example is Sultanganj Buddha (7.5ft in height).



Seated Buddha, Sarnath

6.3 Temple Architecture

Gupta period marks the beginning of Indian temple architecture.

Manuals were written regarding how to form temples. The Gupta temples were of five main types:

- 1) Square building with flat roof shallow pillared porch; as Kankali Devi temple at Tigawa and the Vishnu Varaha temples at Eran. The nucleus of a temple – the *sanctum or cella (garbhagriha)* – with a single entrance and a porch (*Mandapa*) appears for the first time here.
- 2) An elaboration of the first type with the addition of an ambulatory (*paradakshina*) around the sanctum sometimes a second storey; examples the Shiva temple at Bhumara(M.P.) and the lakshmi temple at Aihole. Another noteworthy example is Pārbati temple at Nachnakuthara (M.P.).
- 3) The square temple with a low and squat tower (*shikhara*) above; pillared approach, a high platform at the base; notable examples are the



Nachnakuthara

Dasavatara temple (Deogarh Jhansi) and the brick temple at Bhitargaon Kanpur. The most unique achievement of this stage was "Curvilinear tower" i.e. "Shikhara". "Nagara Style" temple making is said to be the success of third stage of temple making.

- 4) Rectangular temple with an apsidal back and barrel-vaulted roof above such as the Kapoteswara temple at Cezarla(Krishna district).
- 5) Circular temples with shallow rectangular projection at the four cardinal faces; the only monument exemplifying the style is the Maniyar Math shrine at Rajgir, Bihar.



Maniyar Math

(The fourth and fifth types appear to be survivals/adaptations of the earlier forms and do not appear to have much influenced subsequent development).

6.4 Styles of Temples

6.4.1 Nagara School of Architecture

The style of temple architecture that became popular in northern India is known as Nagara. In north India it is common for an entire temple to be built on a stone platform with steps leading up to it. It is a square temple with a number of graduated projections –*rathakas* – in the middle of each face which gives it a cruciform shape on the exterior. A tower (*sikhara*) gradually curving inwards and capped by a spheroid slab with ribs round the edge (*Amalaka*) give the elevation. Thus the two major characteristics of this style are the cruciform ground plan and the curvilinear tower.

Three subtypes of Nagara temple depending upon the shape of Shikhara –

1) **Rekha Prasad or Latina** – Simple Shikhara, most common type, square at the base and its walls curve or slope inward to a point on the top. The top is called 'latina' or the rekha-Prasad type of Shikhara.

2) **Phamsana** – Phamsana buildings tend to be broader and shorter than latina buildings. Their roofs are composed of several slabs that gently rise to a single point over the center of building, unlike the latina ones which look like sharply rising tall towers. Phamsana buildings do not curve inwards, instead they slope upwards on a straight incline. In many North Indian temples Phamsana was used for mandapa and latina for Garbhagriha.



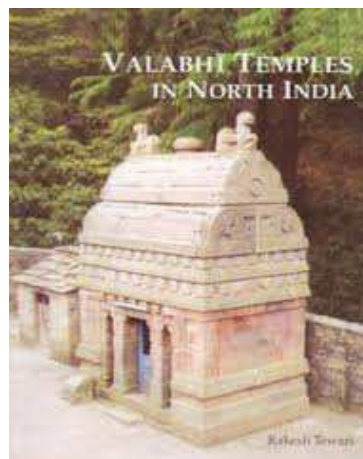
Phamsana

Rajinder Nagar: 1/8-B, 2nd Floor, Apsara Arcade, Near Gate 6, Karol Bagh Metro, Delhi

Mukherjee Nagar: 103, 1st Floor, B/1-2, Ansal Building, Behind UCO Bank, Delhi-9

09650617807, 09968029039, 09717162595

3) Valabhi type – Rectangular building with a roof that rises into a vaulted chamber. They are usually called as wagon vaulted buildings. Example : Nandi devi or Nav durga temple Jogeshwar.



Valabhi Temples

Three sub schools developed under Nagara style -

A. Odisha School

The main architectural features of Odisha temples are classified in three orders, i.e. rekhapida, pidhadeul and khakra. Most of the main temple sites are located in ancient Kalinga—modern Puri District, including Bhubaneswar or ancient Tribhuvaneshvara, Puri and Konark. The temples of Odisha constitute a distinct substyle within the nagara order. In general, here the shikhara, called deul in Odisha, is vertical almost until the top when it suddenly curves sharply inwards. Deuls are preceded, as usual, by mandapas called jagamohana in Odisha. The ground plan of the main temple is almost always square, which, in the upper reaches of its superstructure becomes circular in the crowning mastaka. This makes the spire nearly cylindrical in appearance in its length. Compartments and niches are generally square, the exterior of the temples are lavishly carved, their interiors generally quite bare. Odisha temples usually have boundary walls. Example: Konark Temple, Jagannath temple, Lingaraj temple.



Konark Temple

B. Khujuraho/Chandel school

Under the Chandela kings of Bundelkhand, a great school of architecture flourished in the 10th and 11th century. An example of this style is a group of temples at Khajuraho, in Madhya Pradesh. The finest is the shaivite temple known as **Kandariya Mahadev**, built around CE 1000. The standard type of Khajuraho temple has a shrine room, an assembly hall, and an entrance portico. These entities were treated as a whole, whereas in the odishan style they were conceived as separate elements joined by vestibules. The shikhara is curved for its whole length, and miniature shikharas emerge from the central tower. The halls and porticos of the temple are also crowned with smaller towers which rise progressively to lead the eye upto the main tower, and give the impression of a mountain range.

Khajuraho's temples are also known for their extensive erotic sculptures; the erotic expression is given equal importance in human experience as spiritual pursuit, and it is seen as part of a larger cosmic whole. Many Hindu temples therefore feature *mithun* (embracing couple) sculptures, considered auspicious. Usually, they are placed at the entrance of the temple or on an exterior wall or they may also be placed on the walls between the *mandapa* and the main shrine.



Kandariya Mahadev

C. Solanki School

The Chalukya (Solanki) kings of Gujarat patronized this school of architecture that flourished from the 11th to 13th century. The **Vimala, Tejapala and Vastupala temples** at Mount Abu exhibit this style. The most outstanding feature of this style is its minute and lovely decorativeness.



Modhera Sun Temple

The Sun temple at Modhera dates back to early eleventh century and was built by Raja Bhimdev-I of the Solanki Dynasty in 1026. The Solankis were a branch of the later Chalukyas. There is a massive rectangular stepped tank called the *suryakund* in front of it. Proximity of sacred architecture to a water body such as a tank, a river or a pond has been noticed right from the earliest times. By the early eleventh century they had become a part of many temples. This hundred-square-metre rectangular pond is perhaps the grandest temple tank in India. A hundred and eight miniature shrines are carved in between the steps inside the tank. A huge ornamental arch-*torana* leads one to the *sabha mandapa* (the assembly hall) which is open on all sides, as was the fashion of the times in western and central Indian temples. The influence of the woodcarving tradition of Gujarat is evident in the lavish carving and sculpture work. However, the walls of the central small shrine are devoid of carving and are left plain as the temple faces the east and, every year, at the time of the equinoxes, the sun shines directly into this central shrine.

Temple Architecture in South India

7.0 Dravida Style

South Indian temple architecture, also called **Drāvida Style**, architecture invariably employed for Hindu temples in modern Tamil Nadu from the 7th to the 18th century, characterized by its pyramidal, or Kūṭina-type, tower. Variant forms are found in Karnataka (formerly Mysore) and Andhra Pradesh states. The South Indian temple consists essentially of a square-chambered

sanctuary topped by a superstructure, tower, or spire and an attached pillared porch or hall (MANDAPA, or MANDAPAM), enclosed by a peristyle of cells within a rectangular court. The external walls of the temple are segmented by pilasters and carry niches housing sculpture. The superstructure or tower above the sanctuary is of the KŪTINA type and consists of an arrangement of gradually receding stories in a pyramidal shape. Each story is delineated by a parapet of miniature shrines, square at the corners and rectangular with barrel-vault roofs at the centre. The tower is topped by a dome-shaped cupola and a crowning pot and finial.

The origins of the Drāvida style can be observed in the Gupta period. The earliest extant examples of the developed style are the 7th-century rock-cut shrines at Mahābalipuram and a developed structural temple, the Shore Temple (C. 700), at the same site.

The South Indian style is most fully realized in the splendid Brhadīśvara temple at Thanjāvūr, built about 1003–10 by Rājārāja the Great, and the great temple at Gangaikondacōlapuram, built about 1025 by his son Rājendra Cōla. Subsequently, the style became increasingly elaborate—the complex of temple buildings enclosed by the court became larger, and a number of successive enclosures, each with its own gateway (GOPURA), were added. By the Vijayanagar period (1336–1565) the GOPURAs had increased in size so that they dominated the much smaller temples inside the enclosures.



Figure 1 Brhadisvara

Four stages of temple architecture had been observed in South India Mainly during the Pallava's rule, around 6th century AD. Which are as follows:

- **Stage-1 Mahendra Group :-**

It marked the beginning of Rock cut cave architecture and word Mandap was used instead temple.

- **Stage-II-Narsimha Group :-**

Major development during this period was initiation of Decoration in rock cut cave structures and Mandap's now became 'Ratha's' which is a refined cave famous for beauty. The biggest Ratha was called as Dharamraj Rath and smallest one was called as draupadi Rath.

Dharamraj Rath is considered as precursor of Dravidian style of temple making.

- **Stage-III-Rajsimha Group :-**

At this stage the real structural development of temple's started and it moved outside the cave, earlier temples were part of caves.

Example: Shore temple at Mahabalipuram, (TN) Kailashnath temple at Kanchipuram.



Figure 2 Shore Temple



Figure 3 Kailash Nath

Stage IV – Nandivarman Group: It is said to be the declining stage of south Indian temple architecture and only small temples were constructed in this period.

Chola Sculpture: NATRAJ

Shiva is associated with the end of the cosmic world with which this dancing position is associated. In this chola sculpture he has been shown balancing himself on his right leg and suppressing the apasmara, the demon of ignorance or forgetfulness, with the foot of same leg. At the same time he raises his left leg in bhujangtrasita stance, which represents tirobhava that is kicking away the veil of maya or illusion from the devotee's mind. His four arms are outstretched and main hand is posed in Abhaya hasta or the Gesture suggesting. The upper right hand hold & Damaru, his favourite musical instrument to keep on the beat tala. The upper left hand is held in dola hasta and connects with the Abhaya hasta of the right hand. His Hair flocks fly on both the sides touching the circular jwala mala or the garland of flame, which surrounds the entire dancing figuration.



Figure 4 Natraj

Sub Styles of Dravida Temples

7.1 Nayaka Style

The Nayakas rose on the fall of Vijayanagara empire. They continued, indeed furthered, the artistic tradition of Dravida style. The most famous architectural landmark of this period is the Meenakshi- Sundareswara temple at Madurai. The great temple complex has actually two shrines; the first one dedicated to Shiva as Sundareswara and the second one to



Figure 5 Meenakshi

his wife Meenakshi. Along with the All the feature's of Dravidian style being present, an additional prominent feature called 'Parakram's are of quite interest. Prakram's are huge Corridore's along with roofed ambulatory passageways. It served to connect various parts of temple while enclosing certain areas. Intricate carvings are seen all across the temple walls. The large tank set slightly off the axis to the main temple is another impressive feature of the temple. Surrounded by steps and a pillared portico, the tank was used for ritual bathing.

7.2 Vijaynagar Legacy

Some variation to the common trend was introduced in Vijaynagar. They introduced the concept of enlarged high enclosure walls and more decoration on these high enclosure walls and Gopuram's. Sculpture or motif of supernatural horses was used very frequently. They also introduced the concept of secular buildings (Example-Lotus Mahal).

Typically Vijaynagar period structures in the temple are the Amman Shrine (male deity of temple) and Kalyan Mandapam for exhibition and worship.

8.0 Vesara Style/Chalukya Style/Karnataka Style

This style has features of both Nagara and Dravidian style. It consists of two principle components like Dravidian style i.e. (i) Vimana (ii) Mandap. And departing from Dravidian style it does not have covered ambulatory around sanctum.

Example: Lad Khan temple at aihole, Temples at Badami, Virupaksha temple – Pattadakal.



Figure 6 Virupaksha Temple

Architecture in Medieval India

9.0 Indo-Islamic Style

Indo-Islamic architecture encompasses a wide range of styles from various backgrounds that helped shape the architecture of the Indian subcontinent from the advent of Islam in the Indian subcontinent around the 7th century. It has left influences on modern Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi architecture. Both secular and religious buildings are influenced by Indo-Islamic architecture which exhibit Indian, Persian, Arab and the Turkish.

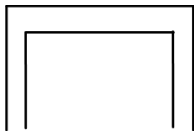
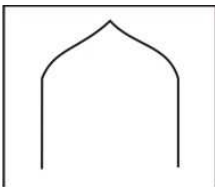
The Islamic rule in India saw the introduction of many new elements in the building style also. This was very much distinct from the already prevailing building style adopted in the construction of temples and other secular architecture. The main elements in the Islamic architecture is the introduction of arches and beams, and it is the arcuate style of construction while the traditional Indian building style is trabeate, using pillars and beams and lintels. The early buildings of the Slave dynasty did not employ true Islamic building styles and consisted of

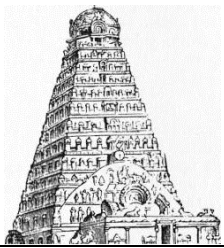
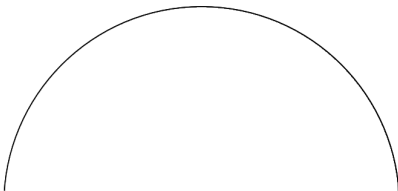
false domes and false arches. Later, the introduction of true arches and true domes start to appear, the earliest example is the Alai Darwaza by the side of Qutb Minar.

The different religious beliefs are also reflected in the mode of construction and architectural styles. The Islamic style also incorporated many elements from the traditional Indian style and a compound style emanated. The introduction of decorative brackets, balconies, pendentive decorations, etc in the architecture is an example in this regard. The other distinguishing features of Indo-Islamic architecture are the utilisation of kiosks (chhatris), tall towers (minars) and half-domed double portals. As human worship and its representation are not allowed in Islam, the buildings and other edifices are generally decorated richly in geometrical and arabesque designs. These designs were carved on stone in low relief, cut on plaster, painted or inlaid. The use of lime as mortar was also a major element distinct from the traditional building style.

The tomb architecture is also another feature of the Islamic architecture as the practice of the burial of the dead is adopted. The general pattern of the tomb architecture is consisted of a domed chamber (hujra), a cenotaph in its centre with a mihrab on the western wall and the real grave in the underground chamber. To this general tomb architecture, the Mughals added a new dimension by introducing gardens all around the tomb. The Mughal tombs are generally placed at the centre of a huge garden complex, the latter being sub-divided into square compartments, the style is known as char-bagh. The Mughals also built large gardens in various levels and terraces on the char-bagh pattern. Scholars trace the evolution of the char-bagh pattern of gardening to the original land of the Mughals, the Kabul Valley, where depending upon the landscape and terrain, gardens and residential complexes were laid out. The Mughals inherited this garden type and superbly transformed it according to the new terrains in India. Thus, evolved a transformed style of char-bagh pattern of gardening. The Mughals are also credited to have introduced the double dome system of dome architecture and the pietra-dura style of inlay decorations.

As said above that before the emergence of indo-islamic architecture, it was trabeate method which was widely followed and with the establishment of Islamic rule, it was replaced by the Arcuate method of architecture. The major differences between the two can be classified as follows:

S.N.	Components	Trabeate	Arcuate
1.	Entrance	Lintel 	Arch 

2.	Top	Shikhara 	Dome 
3.	Minar's (Persian Influence)	Absent	Present for 'Azan'
4.	Material's used	Stone	Brick, lime and Mortar

Arabesque Method: It is a method of decoration. Arabesque means geometricized vegetal ornament. It is characterized by continuous stem which splits regularly producing a series of counter poised, leafy secondary stems which can intern split again or return to be reintegrated into the main stem.



Figure 7 Arabesque

9.1 Imperial Style

9.1.1 Slave dynasty (1206-1290)

It is also called as Ilbari dynasty, as all the ruler's belonged to Ilbari tribe except Qutubuddin Aibak. The Style developed by them is called as Mamluk Style. They started converting existing structures into the Mosque's. The Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque was constructed by Qutub-ud-din Aibak around 1197 A.D. and as is very clear from inscriptions he demolished 27 Hindu and Jain temples within the Rajput citadel of Lalkot as well as the Quila-Rai Pithora and that their carved columns, lintels, ceiling slabs, all showing Hindu gods and goddesses, Purnaghatas and temple bells hanging by chains, were utilised to construct the mosque known as the "Might of Islam". The Qutub Minar of Mehrauli was built around 1199 by Qutub-ud-din and finally completed by his son-in-law and successor Iltutmish (1210-35). Another early mosque, is the well known Adhai-din-ka-Jhonpra at Ajmer which was also constructed from the material obtained after demolishing Hindu temples.

Rajinder Nagar: 1/8-B, 2nd Floor, Apsara Arcade, Near Gate 6, Karol Bagh Metro, Delhi

Mukherjee Nagar: 103, 1st Floor, B/1-2, Ansal Building, Behind UCO Bank, Delhi-9

09650617807, 09968029039, 09717162595



Figure 8 Adhai Din Ka Jhonpra



Figure 9 Qutub Minar

9.1.2 Khilji Dynasty (1290-1320)

The Style developed by them is called as Seljuk style. The Alai-Darwaza was, built by Allaudin Khilji by enlarging the Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque's enclosures of colonnades and providing them two gateways. In this and other buildings constructed by the Khiljis, the true arch in the form of a pointed horseshoe, broad dome, recessed arches under the squinch, perforated windows, inscriptional bands and use of red sandstone relieved by marble are features characteristic of Khilji architecture.



Figure 10 Alai Darwaza

9.1.3 Tughlaqs

Arch of this period is heavy, massive, rugged and simple. They used grey sandstone and employed minimum decoration. This period was called as 'crisis period of architecture' because focus was on strength rather than beauty. Hence, they introduced the concept of slopping walls known as "Battar", combining the principles of arch and the lintel. To a certain extent the Hindu trabeated construction is still used; there are false arches and the dome is a typical importation from Syria and Byzantine.

9.1.4 Sayyid Period

The Sayyid period was too short to evolve elaborate buildings, but the octagonal tombs of the time possess a distinct architectural character. The decorative features of these tombs consist of the use of blue enameled tiles enhancing the color effect. The Lotus motif crowning the tomb and free use of Guldasta's considerably influenced the style of subsequent period.

9.1.5 Lodi's Style

In the Lodi period there is indication of a certain amount of imagination and a bold diversity of design. Enamel tile decoration tended to be richer and more lavish. The tomb architecture of

this period is of two types, though both have grey granite walls. One is octagonal in design having a verandah, the other is square in plan, having no verandah. A spacious somewhat ornamental walled garden encloses the tombs, which gives the whole ensemble an elegance. (Sikander Lodhi established the city of Agra and made it as his capital. He also repaired Qutub-Minar.)

9.2 Provincial Style

9.2.1 Bengal School of Architecture

The Islamic monuments of Bengal are not much different from such buildings elsewhere in plan and in design, but the use of a different building material and the execution of details inspired by local traditions have made them quite distinct. The so-called "Bengal" roof with sloping cornices, which originated from the bamboo-construction, was adopted by the Muslims and later it spread widely, even in other regions. Brick was the chief building material in the alluvial plains of Bengal from early times and remains so even now, the use of stone being limited largely to pillars which were mainly obtained from demolished temples. The pillars in Bengal, even when constructed with brick, are generally short and square and the opening is usually accurate, for trabeate construction normally called for the use of stone. Covered brick and glazed tiles were usually pressed into service for decoration.



Figure 11 Adhuna Masjid

At Gaur the earliest building representing the constructional and ornamental methods of this style, is the Dakhl Darwaja built by Barbak Shah (1399-1407) as a ceremonial gateway in front of the citadel. With a tall arched entrance between vertical pylons on either side and tapering towers on the corners, it is an imposing structure.

9.2.2 Malwa School of Architecture

It is essentially Arcuate. Some of its original features were the skillful and elegant use of arch with pillar and beam, lofty terraces approached by well proportioned stairways, impressive and dignified size of buildings, use of various colored stones and marbles and partly by bright coloured glazed tiles. The minaret is absent in this style. Notable Examples are Rani Rupamati pavilion, Ashrafi Mahal, Jahaj Mahal, Mandu fort.



Figure 12 Rani Rupamati Pavilion



Figure 13 Jahaj Mahal

9.2.3 Jaunpur School of Architecture

It was influenced by the buildings of Tughlaq period but its typical feature was its bold and forceful character expressed in the huge imposing pro-pylon screens filling the central and side bays of prayer hall. It was Developed by Sharqui Dynasty hence also called as sharqui style.

Notable Example is Atalla Masjid.

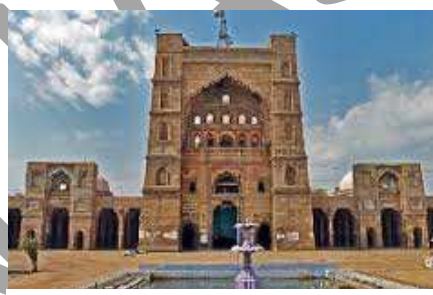


Figure 14 Atalla Masjid

9.2.4 Bijapur School

It developed during the reign of Adilshahi. And the most important example is Gol Gumbaz. The Gol Gumbaz of Bijapur is the mausoleum of Muhammad Adil Shah (1627-57). It is the largest dome cubicle in the world covering a total interior surface of over 1600 sq. metres. Architecturally it is a simple construction, its underground vaults consisting of a square grave chamber and a large single square chamber above ground. The large hemispherical dome surmounting it and then seven storeyed octagonal towers on its corners lend it a unique appearance. Each of its walls on the outside is divided into three recessed arches, the central one panelled, with a running bracket - supported Chhajja at the cornice. A 3.4 m. wide gallery rests on its interior at the level of the drum. It is known as the whispering gallery, as even a whisper here reverberates as an echo under the dome. The large dome is hemispherical but is covered with a row of petals at the base.

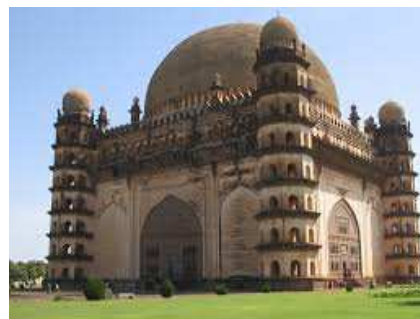


Figure 15 Gol Gumbaz

9.3 Mughal Period

With advent of the Mughals, Indo-Muslim architecture got a blood transfusion as it were, architectural activity having declined significantly during the role of the Lodis. The Mughals were quick to realise that they could not hope to establish a lasting empire in India unless they took within their fold, mixed and mingled with the local population, especially the Rajput

princess of Rajasthan. From being merely satisfied with establishing and somehow safeguarding their Sultanates as in the case of the Delhi Sultans, thinking themselves to be the conquerors, keeping aloof from their subjects and thus creating a wide gulf between themselves and the people of the country that they had the good fortune to rule, the Mughals turned deliberately towards conciliation and pacification of the Hindus. Akbar, did everything possible to live in peace and amity with his Hindu subjects. His policy of conciliation, his open admiration of Hindu culture and his unorthodox ways as the creator of a new eclectic religion, the Din-i-illahi, are reflected in architecture. Jahangir was half Hindu by blood, his mother, Jodhabai, being a Rajput princess. Shahjahan too continued this policy of tolerance and respect for the Hindus. The Mughal empire, as well as Mughal architecture, flourished and rose to great heights under their benign rule, but all this ended abruptly under the last of the great Mughals, Aurangzeb, a puritanic Muslim, who tried to put the clock back and in this process stopped it and broke it by trying to reverse the entire conciliatory policy of his ancestors. He looked upon art, music, dance, painting and even architecture as an evil born of worldly desire and therefore there was an abrupt decline and eventual downfall in aesthetic appreciation and architectural enterprise.

Babar, the founder of the Mughal empire, was a man of culture and exceptional aesthetic taste. For 4 years he ruled in India most of his time was spent in war. However, he was fond of formal gardens and a couple of gardens are ascribed to him. No architecture worthy of note was made during his times except perhaps a couple of mosques.

After Babar's death, his son, Humayun, succeeded him but he was driven out of India by Sher Shah Suri and after taking asylum in Iran, he eventually returned and overthrew Sikander Shah Sur, and regained his throne.

To the Surs is ascribed, the tombs at Sasaram, in Bihar including Sher Shah's own tomb, which was made by moderating the Lodi octagonal pattern with a verandah around it, each side pierced by arches and the halls surmounted by a large and wide dome. The Surs made use of red and dark grey stone latticed screens, decorative turrets, painted ceilings and coloured tiles.

The Purana Qila and the Quila Kohna Masjid inside, are also ascribed to Sher Shah Suri. The walls of the Purana Quila are made of enormous half fashioned stones, with strong and thick walls, ornamentation and decoration are minimal.

The first distinct example of proper Mughal architecture inspired by Persian architecture, is the tomb of Humayun, in Delhi, built by his widow, Begha Begum. This tomb is important for a proper study of the development of later Mughal architecture and has provided the prototype, followed by architects who designed the Mausoleum of Jahangir at Shahdara, Lahore, as well as the celebrated Taj Mahal, at Agra.



Figure 16 Humayun's Tomb

Although Sikander Lodi's tomb as the first garden tomb built in India, it is Humayun's tomb which strikes a new note. It is a memorial erected by a devoted wife for her imperial husband and is magnificent, grand and impressive. Raised on a vast platform, the tomb proper stands in the centre of a square garden, divided into 4 main parts by causeways (Charbagh) in the centre of which ran shallow water-channels. The square, red, sandstone, double storeyed structure of the mausoleum rises over a high square terrace, raised over a

series of cells which are like a musical composition. The octagonal form of the central chamber containing the cenotaph, is inspired by Syrian and earlier Islamic models. It is for the first time that pink sandstone and white are used with admirable effect, the white is used cleverly to emphasise, surround and underline doors and windows, strengthening the design.

There is a certain rhythmic quality in the whole structure in its symmetrical design and the repetition of the large dome in the similar pavillions with small but similar domes. The mausoleum is a synthesis of Persian architecture and Indian traditions, in the arched alcoves, corridors and a high double dome as well as the kiosks (*chhatris*) which give it a pyramidal shape from a distance. The tomb stands as a loving creation of a devoted wife for a great emperor, an intrepid warrior and a strong man and is in character, solid and massive.

Akbar was keenly interested in art and architecture and his architecture is a happy blend of the Hindu and Islamic modes of construction ornamentation. Akbar's seat of Government was Agra, it is there on the banks of the river Yamuna, that he started the construction of his famous Fort, made of red sand-stone, which was begun in 1565 and completed in 1574. This was the first time that depressed stone was used, also in the ramparts. With its high walls of neat sandstone facing the gateways, flanked by bastions, large halls, palaces, mosques, bazars, baths, gardens and houses for courtiers and noblemen, the fort at Agra laid a



Figure 17 Amar Singh Gate, Agra Fort

pattern in the construction of royal citadels that became a model for later ones. The Akbari Mahal and the buildings, along with the great and original city of Fatehpur Sikri, are made of red sandstone with trabeated construction and restricted ornamentation. The jambs, brackets, corbels and lintels of the doorways of the Jahangiri Mahal together with a *Chajja* above the doorways are profusely sculptured.

Fatehpur Sikri was a town planned as an administrative unit consisting of public buildings as well as private residence in close proximity. The city of Fatehpur Sikri was founded as a token of gratitude to Sheikh Salim Chisti who had foretold that Akbar would have three sons who would survive after the sad demise of many children in infancy.

The city was begun in 1569 and completed in 1574, the same year in which the fort at Agra was completed. The city is a modest and compact township, consisting of halls, palaces, offices, gardens, pleasure-resorts, baths, mosques, tombs, all of them little gems of architecture, making a town of great nobility. Almost all the structures are based on trabeate construction.

The most typical and the most well known building is Panch Mahal, the highest and the most impressive structure, called the palace of five storeys. It is based on the Hindu system of trabeate structure, consisting of pillar, architrave, and brackets, with the only exception of the topmost domed pavilion, purposefully thrown out of the centre that crowns the entire building. The tower was perhaps used for recreation by the emperor and members of the royal household. The idea behind this impressive structure of diminishing storeys, one on top of the other, consisting of open, terraces in front of the covered areas, was comfort, shade and airy open pillared verandahs provided by perforated railings, constructed with an eye to providing

shade and fresh air, to the inhabitants seated on the cool floors.

The Diwan-i-Khas or Hall of Private Audience, is of a unique design. It is a square chamber with three openings on each side and a richly carved column in the centre supporting a magnificent flower shaped capital. Thorough ventilation is provided by placing on all sides perforated windows opposite each other on every wall. The charming balcony supported by a circular top capital, runs round the halls whole length of the 4 sides on the first floor level, supported by brackets. It is believed that the central place was occupied by the Emperor's throne while his Ministers sat at the corners or on the peripheral passage.

The Turkish Sultana's house consists of a small chamber surrounded by a verandah. It is beautifully carved both on the outside and inside; particularly remarkable being the wide dado carved with panels, portraying jungle scenes with animals, birds and trees. It is the most ornamented building in a "gigantic jewel casket" says Fergusson.

Besides constructing a number of elegant, lavishly decorated buildings, such as Khas Mahal, Diwan-i-Khas, Moti Masjid, as well as the Jama Masjid in Delhi, Shahjahan erected the most romantic and fabulous building, the Taj Mahal, the tomb of his beloved wife, Aljumand Bano Begum entitled Mumtaz Mahal. It is a dream in marble and is the logical culmination of the conception of a garden tomb, starting with Humayun's tomb at Delhi. The Taj is a square tomb built on a raised terrace, with graceful tall minarets at its four comers. As in Humayun's tomb, the tomb chamber is octagonal, with subsidiary chambers at the angles and the tomb is surmounted by a graceful double dome. The doorway is narrower and loftier, the dome is much more soaring. The dome has acquired a lotus pattern below with the finial. The Taj is noted for its ethereal and dreamlike lightness, graceful proportions and a harmonious balance between architecture and ornamentation. There is profuse carving and beautiful inlay work with precious multicolour stones in its floral and arabesque pattern, fine borders, inscriptions in black marble, delicate traceries and trellis work executed against the background of white marble. In its dreamlike airy lightness as well as in its precious inlay work, the feminine character is apparent, like the lovely lady in whose memory it was built, gentle, sweet and yielding. Like Humayun's tomb it was laid in a *charbagh*, or gardens with water channels and full of flowers.



Figure 18 Taj Mahal, Agra

In 1638 Shahjahan shifted his capital from Agra to Delhi and laid the foundation of Shahjanabad, the Seventh City of Delhi, containing his famous citadel, the Red-Fort, which was begun in 1639 and completed after 9 years. The Red Fort is an irregular octagon, well planned, with its walls, gates, and a few other structures constructed in red sandstone, and marble used for the palaces. It consists of a Diwan-i-Am, containing the marble canopy ornamented with beautiful panels of pietra dura work showing a few paintings. Diwan-i-Khas is a high ornamented pillared hall, with a flat ceiling supported on engraved arches. Its pillars contain pietra



Figure 19 Jali work, Khas Mahal, Red Fort, Delhi

dura ornamentation and the upper portion was originally gilded and painted. It is also said that its marble dais once supported the famous Peacock Throne.

The exquisite marble screen containing a representation of the scales of justice and on the walls of this marble palace are Persian couplets, detailing the dates of the construction of the fort, the cost of construction and also the famous couplet claiming that "If there be a paradise on earth it is this, it is this, it is this".

The luxury and love of constructing magnificent buildings, patronised by Jahangir and Shahjahan came to an end rather abruptly with the last of the great Mughals, Emperor Aurangzeb.

Not many palaces of early Hindu rulers of medieval time have survived. Certain features which characterise the Islamic construction were not confined merely to Muslim forts, palaces, mosques and tombs, but were also incorporated by the Hindus, who made use of some of the indigenous features, and planned their building to suit their customs and ways of living.

Rajasthan is rich in such palaces. The palaces built during the Mughal time may be different from each other in plan, but they have certain common architectural features, such as balconies supported on carved brackets, pillared kiosks crowned by domes, arcades of sunk arches, foliated arches, latticed screens, curved Bengal roofs and flat domes rising from a rectangular base. Situated as these palaces often are on rocky heights, they look very impressive such as those at Amber: Jaipur, Bikaner, Jodhpur, Udaipur, Jaisalmer, etc.

Modern India and European Influence

The Europeans who came to India for trade established their settlements at various places. In these settlements they built European style houses, besides the factories. When their foothold became strong, they began to construct more durable structures such as strong fortresses and imposing churches.

The forts had no architectural significance. The Portuguese at Goa established impressive churches in the style of Iberian architecture, and the English, though in a less ambitious manner, built churches resembling the English village churches.

A distinct type of building thus began to emerge in India. However, the Victorian style itself, being imitative rather than original, did not have a vitality of its own to inaugurate in India what could have been an Indo-British (like the Indo-Islamic) style of architecture.

The Victorian architects in India made a mistake by attempting to copy oriental styles while trying to construct public buildings. Big brickwork buildings with iron supports and domed roofs represented Victorian architecture at its worst. On the whole, therefore, the nineteenth century English style did not manifest itself in any way comparable with past architecture.

The Palladian Style of architecture was sought to be introduced in India by some other British officers in the 18th century. Constantia, a building erected by General Martin at Lucknow, is the best specimen of this style in India. A great central tower rising from a succession of terraced roofs is a characteristic of this style.

In the second-half of the 19th century, some of the European builders in India tried their best to combine elements and features from Indian and Western architecture. The pioneer of this movement was a civil servant, F. S. Growse.

The Museum at Jaipur and the Moor Market in Madras (now, Chennai) are examples of this type of architecture. Sardar Ram Singh, a master builder of Punjab, designed the Central Museum and the Senate House at Lahore (in Pakistan). G. Wittet designed the Gateway of India in Mumbai, borrowing several elements of Mughal style.

The Victoria Terminus Station (now known as the Chhatrapati Shivaji station), in Mumbai, is an outstanding example of Victorian Gothic Revival architecture in India, blended with themes deriving from Indian traditional architecture.

The building, designed by the British architect F. W. Stevens, became the symbol of Bombay (now, Mumbai) as the 'Gothic City' and the major international mercantile port of India. The terminal was built over 10 years, starting in 1878, according to a High Victorian Gothic design based on late medieval Italian models.

Its stone dome, turrets, pointed arches and eccentric ground plan are close to traditional Indian palace architecture. British architects worked with Indian craftsmen to include Indian architectural tradition and idioms thus forging a new style unique to Bombay (now, Mumbai).

Among the edifices of the Victorian era, the churches of Kolkata and Chennai, the cathedrals at Simla and Lahore, the Lahore High Court and the Calcutta High Court are noteworthy. But none of these edifices can be regarded as great pieces of architecture.



Figure 20 Victoria Memorial

At the end of the Victorian era India entered the era of national awakening and movement. The architecture represented the character of the time, a combination of the imperial needs and the national urges. The British wanted to perpetuate the memory of Queen Victoria in India by erecting a Memorial Hall in her name.

But the style of that massive structure (at Kolkata) was sought to be oriental enough to satisfy the Indian mind. It was a first foray into Indo-Saracenic Movement. The Indo-Saracenic Revival (also known as Indo-Gothic, Mughal-Gothic, Neo-Mughal, or Hindu-Gothic) was an architectural style movement by British architects in the late 19th century in British India.

It drew elements from the indigenous and Indo-Islamic architecture and combined it with the Gothic revival and Neo-Classical styles favoured in Victorian England. The style gained momentum in the West with the publication of the various views of India by William Hodges and the Daniell duo (William Daniell and his uncle Thomas Daniell) from about 1795.

Structures of this design, particularly those built in India and England, were built in conformance to advanced British structural engineering standards of the 1800s, which came to include infrastructures composed of iron, steel and poured concrete (the innovation of reinforced cement and pre-cast cement elements, set with iron and/or steel rods, developed much later).

Some of the characteristics of this style are: onion (bulbous) domes, overhanging eaves, pointed arches, cusped arches, or scalloped arches, vaulted roofs, domed kiosks, many miniature domes, domed chhatris, pinnacles, towers and minarets, open pavilions, and pierced arcades.

Unfortunately the architects of the Victoria Memorial Hall, designed by William Emerson, who had earlier designed the Crawford Market in Bombay (now, Mumbai), could not make it a striking piece of Indo-British style. Indian characteristics superimposed on the edifice, with the inevitable dome, did not make it look like the Taj Mahal nor even a poor replica. Similar attempts to imitate oriental features while constructing the Prince of Wales Museum at Mumbai did not prove successful.

A great opportunity came to the British rulers for the construction of grand buildings in India when it was decided in 1911 to transfer the capital from Calcutta (now Kolkata) to Delhi. The chief architect Sir Edwin Lutyens, and his colleague, Sir Edward Baker, at first prepared designs in the neo-Roman style. But these designs appeared inappropriate to the Indian background.



Figure 21 Rashtrapati Bhawan



Figure 22 Parliament

The British architects set themselves to study the Buddhist, Hindu and Islamic features while redrawing their plan for Delhi. When finally the capital emerged with its majestic buildings, the Viceregal palace appeared with a huge dome on the lines of a Buddhist stupa, and most of the buildings represented some elements of Hindu ornamentation or Islamic symmetry. A great demerit of that unique experiment to synthesise the different styles of Indian architecture within a broader European fabric was that simplicity, modernity and utility were considerably compromised for the purpose of so-called beauty and structural majesty.

The experiment neither revived in India the lost values of her architectural glory, nor did it introduce radically new edifices for the purposes of newer times. Most of the structures appeared massive, heavy and strong, but also congested, close and even medieval. A redeeming feature was due to Sir John Marshall—for designing beautiful gardens in order to revive the spirit of the Mughal days.

The Jamia Milia Islamia at Delhi represents an age (around 1935) of revolutionary ideas, when the aegis of colonial imperialism was being questioned and the national movement was getting stronger by the day.

It was also around this time that many Indian educational institutes were established after heeding Mahatma Gandhi's call to boycott all British institutions. Karl Heinz, a German

architect, was commissioned for this project with instructions that he should stay clear of elements of British or Mughal architecture, in keeping with the anti-imperialistic stand that the founders of Jamia stood for.

As a result, there was a building that cannot be categorised into any particular school of architecture; it can be called 'modern style of architecture' as it resembles today's buildings, that is, usually something that stems from the architect's imagination.

The red sandstone building has white domes that have no particular pattern and big courtyards and windows that serve no particular purpose than to look good. Heinz used local materials like red sandstone and lime which were easy to source.

Difference between Portuguese and British Style

	Iberian (Portuguese)	Gothic (British)
Material used	Brick as main material wooden roofs and stair's	Red sandstone and coarse limestone.
Structure variation	No creation of new shapes or structure's Re-interpreted western style	Involved creation of new shapes and structure's
Plaster Carvings	Prominent feature Ex-old Goa Church's	Absent

Some Famous Architects of Modern India

1. Laurie Baker: He was called as the architect of the poor and the conscience keeper of India. He merged the buildings with the environment and utilized locally available materials. To reduce the consumption of steel and cement, he introduced filler slab construction. While designing he kept the eye on concerns related to ventilation and thermal comfort. He revolutionized mass housing in Kerala.

2. Karl Heinz: He was a German Architect and was commissioned with instructions that he should stay clear of elements of British or Mughal Architecture in keeping with anti-imperialistic stand of nationalists and Jamia millia Islamia Delhi. Heinz used local materials like red sandstone and lime which were easily available. Red sandstone buildings with white domes, with big courtyards and windows was the major feature. It can be called as modern style of architecture.

3. Le-Corbusier: He was a French Architect. He designed the city of Chandigarh on the pattern of well ordered matrix. He conceived the Idea of sector as self sufficient green belt. Regular grid for fast traffic was taken care of.

4. Charles-Correa: He was a Goan Architect and played pivotal role post independence. He placed special emphasis on prevailing resources, energy and climate as major determinants in the ordering of space. He did pioneer work in urban issues and low cost shelter in the third world.

Example: Planning of Navi Mumbai, Kanchenjunga apartment, Mumbai, British Council building, New Delhi, etc.

Rajinder Nagar: 1/8-B, 2nd Floor, Apsara Arcade, Near Gate 6, Karol Bagh Metro, Delhi

Mukherjee Nagar: 103, 1st Floor, B/1-2, Ansal Building, Behind UCO Bank, Delhi-9

09650617807, 09968029039, 09717162595

INDIAN CLASSICAL DANCE

The six recognized schools of Indian classical dance developed as a part of religious ritual in which dancers worshipped the gods by telling stories about their lives and exploits. The principles of Indian Classical dance is derived from 'Natya Shastra' by Bharat Muni. He traces its origin from lord Bramha. Lord Bramha created a fifth veda known as 'Natyaveda', representing the essence of four existing Vedas. For example, Pathya (words) were taken from Rigveda, Abhinaya(gestures) from Yajurveda, Geet(music) from Samaveda, Rasa(emotions) from Atharvaveda.

Three main components form the basis of these dances. They are natya, the dramatic element of the dance (i.e., the imitation of character); nritya, pure dance, in which the rhythms and phrases of the music are reflected in the decorative movements of the hands and body and in the stamping of the feet; and nritya, the portrayal of mood through facial expression, hand gesture, and position of the legs and feet.

There are two basic aspect of Indian classical dance: Tandava – it denotes movement on rhythm that is emphasizing on male characteristics of power strength and firmness. Lasya - it denotes grace, bhava, rasa and abhinaya, which represents the feminine aspect of dance.

The style of movement in Indian classical dance is very different from that of Western ballet. In ballet the emphasis is frequently on the action of the legs—in jumps, turns, and fast traveling steps, which create ballet's characteristic qualities of height, speed, and lightness—while the body itself remains relatively still and the arms simply frame the face or balance the body. In Indian dance, however, the legs are usually bent, with the feet flat rather than lifted and pointed. Jumps are usually low (though light), and the dancer rarely covers much ground or performs intricate steps, the complexity of the footwork lying more in elaborate stamping rhythms. (These stamping rhythms enhance the musicality of the dance; many dancers wear bells around their ankles, supplying their own accompaniment as well as counterpoint to the rhythms beaten out by the musicians.) The torso, face, arms, and hands are extremely active. The head is quite mobile, with subtle changes of direction and a characteristic side-to-side movement emphasizing the dancer's changing facial expressions. The movement of the torso is graceful and fluid, shifting from side to side or turning on the axis of the spine, while the movement of the hands and arms is subtle and elaborate, every gesture having a narrative function. Indian dancers have a vast repertoire of gestures through which they express complex events, ideas, and emotions. There are, for example, 13 gestures of the head, 36 different glances, and 67 mudras, or hand gestures, that can, in various combinations, yield several thousand different meanings.

Sangeet Natak academy has given the status of classical dance to the following dance forms;

Bharatnatyam Dance

Bharatnatyam Dance is considered to be over 2000 years old. Several texts beginning with Bharata Muni's Natya Shastra (200 B.C.E. to 200 C.E.) provide information on this dance form. The **Abhinaya Darpana** by **Nandikesvara** is one of the main sources of textual material, for the study of the technique and grammar of body movement in



Bharatnatyam Dance. There is also a great deal of visual evidence of this dance form in paintings and stone and metal sculptures of ancient times. On the gopurams of the Chidambaram temple, one can see a series of Bharatnatyam poses, frozen in stone as it were, by the sculptor. In many other temples, the **charis** and **karanas** of the dance are represented in sculpture and one can make a study of the dance form.

Bharatnatyam dance is known to be **ekaharya**, where one dancer takes on many roles in a single performance. In the early 19th century, the famous Tanjore Quartette, under the patronage of Raja Serfoji are said to have been responsible for the repertoire of Bharatnatyam dance as we see it today.

The style was kept alive by the **devadasis**, who were young girls 'gifted' by their parents to the temples and who were married to the gods. The devadasis performed music and dance as offerings to the deities, in the temple courtyards. Some of the renowned performers and gurus of the early part of the century belong to the **devadasi families**, a well-known name is Bala Saraswati.

The repertoire of Bharatnatyam is extensive, however, a performance follows a regular pattern. At first there is an invocation song. The first dance item is the **alarippu**, literally meaning - to adorn with flowers. It is an abstract piece combining pure dance with the recitation of sound syllables.

The next item, the **jatiswaram** is a short pure dance piece performed to the accompaniment of musical notes of any RAGA of Carnatic music. Jatiswaram has no SAHITYA or words, but is composed of ADAVUS which are pure dance sequences - NRITTA. They form the basis of training in Bharatnatyam dance.

As a solo dance, Bharatnatyam leans heavily on the **abhinaya** or mime aspect of dance - thenritya, where the dancer expresses the SAHITYA through movement and mime. **Shabdam** follows the jatiswaram in a Bharatnatyam dance performance. The accompanying song is generally in adoration of the Supreme Being.

After the **shabdam**, the dancer performs the **varnam**. The **varnam** which is the most important composition of the Bharatnatyam repertoire, encompasses both **nritya** and **nritya** and epitomises the essence of this classical dance form. The dancer here performs complicated well graded rhythmic patterns in two speeds showing the control over **rhythm**, and then goes on to depict in a variety of ways, through **abhinaya** the lines of the **sahitya**. This portrays the dancer's excellence in abhinaya and also reflects the endless creativity of the choreographer.

The **varnam** is by far one of the most beautiful compositions in Indian dance.

After the strenuous **varnam**, the dancer performs a number of **abhinaya** items expressing a



variety of moods. The **bhava** or RASA is woven into the **sahitya** and then expressed by the dancer. The common pieces are **keertanam**, **kritis**, **padams** and **javalis**. In the **keertanam**, the text is important whereas **kriti** is a composition in which the musical aspect is highlighted. Both are usually devotional in character and represent episodes from the lives of **Rama, Siva, Vishnu**, etc. **Padams** and **javalis**, are on the theme of love, often divine.

A Bharatnatyam performance ends with a **tillana** which has its origin in the **tarana** of Hindustani music. It is a vibrant dance performed to the accompaniment of musical syllables with a few lines of **sahitya**. The finale of the piece is a series of well-designed rhythmic lines reaching a climax. The performance ends with a **mangalam** invoking the blessings of the Gods.

The accompanying orchestra consists of a vocalist, a mridangam player, violinist or veena player, a flautist and cymbal player. The person who conducts the dance recitation is the **Nattuvanar**.

Kuchipudi

Kuchipudi is one of the classical styles of Indian dance. Around the third and fourth decade of this century it emerged out of a long rich tradition of dance-drama of the same name.

In fact, Kuchipudi is the name of a village in the Krishna district of Andhra Pradesh. It is about 35 km. from Vijayawada. Andhra has a very long tradition of dance-drama which was known under the generic name of **Yakshagaana**. In 17th century Kuchipudi style of Yakshagaana was conceived by Siddhendra Yogi a talented Vaishnava poet and visionary who had the capacity to give concrete shape to some of his visions. He was steeped in the literary Yakshagaana tradition being guided by his guru Teerthanaaraayana Yogi who composed the **Krishna-Leelatarangini**, a **kaavya** in Sanskrit.



It is said that Siddhendra Yogi had a dream in which Lord Krishna asked him to compose a dancedrama based on the myth of the bringing of **paarijaata** flower for **Sathyabhaama**, the most beloved queen of Krishna. In compliance with this command Siddhendra Yogi composed the **Bhaamaakalaapam** which is till now considered the piece-deresistance of the Kuchipudi repertoire. Siddhendra Yogi initiated young Brahmin boys of Kuchipudi village to practice and perform his compositions particularly BHAAMAAKALAAPAM. The presentation of Bhaamaakalaapam was a stupendous success. Its aesthetic appeal was so great that the then Nawab of Golconda, Abdul Hasan Tanishah issued a copper plate in 1675 A.D. granting the village Kuchipudi as an Agrahaarama to the families of Brahmins who pursued this art. At that time all the actors were male and the female impersonation was of a superb quality. To have an idea of the high standard of female impersonation one should see Vedaantam Satyanarayana Sharma, a great Kuchipudi dancer, even today doing the role of Satyabhaama.



The followers of Siddhendra Yogi wrote several plays and the tradition of Kuchipudi dance-drama continues till today. It was Lakshminarayan Shastry (1886-1956) Solo dancing was there earlier, but only as a part of the dance drama at appropriate sequences. 'At times, even though the dramatic situation did not demand, solo dancing was being presented to punctuate the presentation and to enhance the appeal. One such number is **tarangam** inspired by the **Krishna-leela tarangini** of Teerthanarayana Yogi who introduced many new elements including solo dancing and training of female dancers in this dance style.



To show the dexterity of the dancers in footwork and their control and balance over their bodies, techniques like dancing on the rim of a brass plate and with a pitcher full of water on the head was introduced. Acrobatic dancing became part of the repertoire. By the middle of this century, Kuchipudi fully crystallized as a separate classical dance style. Thus there are now two forms of Kuchipudi; the traditional musical dance-drama and the solo dance.

From the later part of the fourth decade of this century a sequence of the presentation of the solo recital has been widely accepted. A recital of Kuchipudi begins with an invocatory number, as is done in some other classical dance styles. Earlier the invocation was limited to **Ganesha Vandana**. Now other gods are also invoked. It is followed by NRITTA, that is, non-narrative and abstract dancing. Usually **jatiswaram** is performed as the NRITTA number. Next is presented a narrative number called SHABDAM. One of the favourite traditional **shabdham** number is the **Dashaavataara**. The SHABDAM is followed by a **natyam** number called **Kalaapam**. Many Kuchipudi dancers prefer to perform entry of Satyabhama from the traditional dance-drama Bhaamaakalaapam. The song "bhamane, satyabhamane, the traditional **praveshadaaru** (the song that is rendered at the time of the entry of a character) is so tuneful that its appeal is universal and ever fresh. Next in the sequence comes a pure **nrityaabhinaya** number based on literary-cum musical forms like **padam**, **jaavli**, **shlokam**, etc. In such a number each of the sung words is delineated in space through dance, **drishya-kavita** (visual poetry). A Kuchipudi recital is usually concluded with tarangam. Excerpts of **Krishna-leela-tarangini** are sung with this number. In this the dancer usually stands on a brass plate locking the feet in **shakatavadanam** paada and moves the plate rhythmically with great dexterity.

The music that accompanies the dance is according to the classical school of Carnatic music and is delightfully syncopatic. The accompanying musicians, besides the vocalist are: a **mridangam** player to provide percussion music, a violin or **veena** player or both for providing instrumental melodic music, and a cymbal player who usually conducts the orchestra and recites the **sollukattus** (mnemonic rhythm syllables).

Kathakali Dance

Kerala is the home of several traditional dance and dance – drama forms, the most notable being Kathakali.

Kathakali, as a dance form popular today, is considered to be of comparatively recent origin. However, it is an art which has evolved from many social and religious theatrical forms which existed in the southern region in ancient times. **Chakiarkoothu**, **Koodiyattam**, **Krishnattam** and **Ramanattam** are few of the ritual performing arts of Kerala which have had a direct

Rajinder Nagar: 1/8-B, 2nd Floor, Apsara Arcade, Near Gate 6, Karol Bagh Metro, Delhi

Mukherjee Nagar: 103, 1st Floor, B/1-2, Ansal Building, Behind UCO Bank, Delhi-9

09650617807, 09968029039, 09717162595

influence on Kathakali in its form and technique. Legend has it that the refusal of the Zamorin of Calicut to send his **Krishnattam** troupe to Travancore, so enraged the Raja of Kottarakkara, that he was inspired to compose the **Ramanattam**.

In the temple sculptures in Kerala and the frescoes in the Mattancheri temple of approximately the 16th century, dance scenes depicting the square and rectangular basic positions so typical to Kathakali are seen. For body movements and choreographical patterns, Kathakali is also indebted to the early martial arts of Kerala.

Kathakali is a blend of dance, music and acting and dramatizes stories, which are mostly adapted from the Indian epics. It is a stylised art form, the four aspects of abhinaya - **angika, aharya, vachika, satvika** and

the **nritta, nritya** and **natya** aspects are combined perfectly. The dancer expresses himself through codified hastamudras and facial expressions, closely following the verses (**padams**) that are sung. Kathakali derives its textual sanction from **Balarama Bharatam** and **Hastalakshana Deepika**.

The **attakkathas** stories are selected from the epics and myths and are written in a highly Sanskritised verse form in Malayalam. Many Malayalam writers have also contributed to the vast repertoire of Kathakali literature.

Kathakali is a visual art where **aharya**, costume and make-up are suited to the characters, as per the tenets laid down in the **Natya Shastra**. The characters are grouped under certain clearly defined types like the **pacha, kathi, thadi, kari** or **minukku**. The face of the artist is painted over to appear as though a mask is worn. The lips, the eyelashes and the eyebrows are made to look prominent. A mixture of rice paste and lime is applied to make the **chutti** on the face which highlights the facial make-up.

Kathakali dance is chiefly interpretative. The characters in a Kathakali performance are broadly divided into **satvika, rajasika** and **tamasika** types. Satvika characters are noble, heroic, generous and refined. In **pacha**, green colour dominates and **kirita** (headgear) is worn by all. Krishna and Rama wear special crowns decorated with peacock feathers. The noble characters like Indra, Arjun and the Devas are some of the **pacha characters**.

The **kathi** type depict anti-heroes. Though they are of the rajasika category, they are sometimes great warriors and scholars such as Ravana, Kamsa and Sisupala to name a few. The moustache and the small knob called **chuttippu** fixed on "the tip of the nose and another in the centre of the forehead, is peculiar to the **kathi** character. The characters of the **thadi** (beard) category are the **chuvanna thadi**, (red beard), **vellathadi** (white beard) and the **karutha thadi** (black beard). Vellathadi or the white bearded character is generally that of Hanuman, the dancer also



wears the costume of a monkey. **Kari** are characters whose make-up have a black base, they wear black costume depicting a hunter or forest dweller. Apart from these, there are minor characters like **minukku** which are the women and sages. Kathakali costumes and make-up are elaborate and designed so as to give a super human effect. The make-up of Kathakali can be classified into the **teppu**, **chuttikuthu** and **uduthukettu**. The teppud done by the actor himself. Each character has a distinct **teppu**. The second stage is done by experts who specialise in make-up. The wearing of huge bellowing skirts is called **uduthukettu**.

A simple stage is used. A large oil-fed lamp is placed in front of the stage and two people hold a curtain called **Tirasseela** on the stage, the main dancers stand behind it before the performance.

In no other dance style is the entire body used so completely as in Kathakali. The technical details cover every part of the body from facial muscles to fingers, eyes, hands and wrists. The facial muscles play an important part. The movement of the eyebrows, the eye-balls and the lower eye-lids as described in the Natya Shastra are not used to such an extent in any other dance style. The weight of the body is on the outer edges of the feet which are slightly bent and curved.

Kalasams are pure dance sequences where the actor is at great liberty to express himself and display his skills. The leaps, quick turns, jumps and the rhythmic co-ordination make kalasams, a joy to watch.

A Kathakali performance begins with the **kelikottu**, calling the audience to attention followed by the **todayam**. It is a devotional number performed where one or two characters invoke the blessings of the gods. **Kelikottu** is the formal announcement of the performance done in the evening when drums and cymbals are played for a while in the courtyard. A pure nritta piece known as the **purappadu** comes as a sequel to this. Then the musicians and drummers hold the stage entertaining the audience with an exhibition of their skills in **melappada**. **Tiranokku** is the debut on the stage of all characters other than the **pacha or minukku**. Thereafter, the play or the particular scene of the chosen play begins.

Kathakali music follows the traditional **sopana sangeet** of Kerala. It is said to be the ritual singing of the **Ashtapadis** on the flight of steps leading to the **sanctum sanctorum**. Now, Kathakali musical also uses Carnatic ragas-the raga and TALA conforming to the **bhava, rasa and dance patterns (nritta and natya)**. The orchestra which is also used in other traditional performing arts of Kerala, normally comprises the **Chenda, Maddalam, Chengila, Ilathalam, Idakka and Shankhu**.

ILAKIATTAM is that part of the performance when the characters get an opportunity to demonstrate their excellence in **abhinaya**. For the most part of the performance the dancers engage themselves in **chodiattam** which means acting in strict conformity to the words in the **padams** sung by the accompanying musicians.

Thanks to the service done by the poet Vallathol, this classical dance form received a new impetus and today many innovations are also being made to suit the needs of a changing society.

Kathak Dance

The word Kathak has been derived from the word Katha which means a story. **Kathakars** or story-tellers, are people who narrate stories largely based on episodes from the epics, myths and legends. It probably started as an oral tradition. Mime and gestures were perhaps added later on to make the recitation more effective. Thus evolved a simple form of expressional dance, providing the origins of what later developed into Kathak as we see it today.

The Vaishnavite cult which swept North India in the 15th century. and the resultant bhakti movement contributed to a whole new range of lyrics and musical forms. The Radha-Krishna theme proved immensely popular alongwith the works of Mirabai, Surdas, Nandadas and Krishnadas.

The emergence of **Raslila**, mainly in the Braj region (Mathura in Western U.P.) was an important development. It combined in itself music, dance and the narrative. Dance in Raslila, however, was mainly an extension of the basic mime and gestures of the **KATHAKARS** or story-tellers which blended easily with the existing traditional dance.

With the coming of the Mughals, this dance form received a new impetus. A transition from the temple courtyard to the palace **darbar** took place which necessitated changes in presentation. In both Hindu and Muslim courts, Kathak became highly stylised and came to be regarded as a sophisticated form of entertainment. Under the Muslims there was a greater stress on **nritya** and **bhava** giving the dance graceful, expressive and sensuous dimensions.

The nineteenth century saw the golden age of Kathak under the patronage of Wajid Ali Shah, the last Nawab of Oudh. He established the Lucknow **gharana** with its strong accent on **bhava**, the expression of moods and emotions. The Jaipur **gharana** known for its **layakari** or rhythmic virtuosity and the Benaras **gharana** are other prominent schools of Kathak dance. The technique of movement in Kathak is unique to it.

The weight of the body is equally distributed along the horizontal and vertical axis. The full foot contact is of prime importance where only the toe or the ball of the foot are used, their function is limited. There are no deflections and no use of sharp bends or curves of the upper or lower part of the body. Torso movements emerge from the change of the shoulder line rather than through the manipulations of the backbone or upper chest and lower waist muscles. In the basic stance, the dancer stands straight, holds one hand at a level higher than the head and the other is extended out on the level of the shoulder. The technique is built by the use of an intricate system of foot-work. Pure dance (**nritta**) is all important where complex rhythmic patterns are created through the use of the flat feet and



the control of sound of the ankle bells worn by the dancer. As in Bharatnatyam, Odissi and Manipuri, Kathak also builds its pure dance sequences by combining units of movement. The cadences are called differently by the names **tukra**, **tora**, and **parana**, all indicative of the nature of rhythmic patterns used and the percussion instrument accompanying the dance. The dancer commences with a sequence called **That** where soft gliding movements of the neck, eyebrows and the wrists, are introduced. This is followed by a conventional formal entry known as the **Amad** (entry) and the **Salami** (salutation).

Then follow the various combinations of rhythmic passages all punctuated with and culminating in a number of pirouettes. The pirouettes are the most characteristic feature of the dance style in nritta portions. Recitation of the rhythmic syllables is common; the dancer often pauses to recite these to a specified metrical cycle followed by execution through movement. The nritta portion of Kathak is performed to the **nagma**. Both the drummer (here the drum is either a pakhawaj, a type of mridangam, or a pair of tabla) and the dancer weave endless combinations on a repetitive melodic line. The metrical cycle (tala) of 16, 10, 14 beats provides the foundation on which the whole edifice of dance is built.

In the mime portions (**nritya** or **abhinaya**), words are not used in simple numbers called the **gata**, which is performed in a lyrical manner to gentle rhythm. These are short narrative pieces which portray a brief episode from Krishna's life. A poetic line set to music is interpreted with gestures in other numbers, such as **asthethumri**, **bhajan**, **dadra** - all lyrical musical compositions.

In these sections, there is a word to word or line to line synchronisation in the same fashion as in Bharatnatyam or Odissi. Both in nritta (pure dance) and the **abhinaya** (mime) there is immense scope for improvisation of presenting variations on a theme. The interpretative and the abstract dance techniques are interwoven into each other, and the dancer's greatness lies in his capacity for improvisation on the melodic and metric line on the one hand and the poetic line on the other.

Today, Kathak has emerged as a distinct dance form. Being the only classical dance of India having links with Muslim culture, it represents a unique synthesis of Hindu and Muslim genius in art. Further, Kathak is the only form of classical dance wedded to Hindustani or the North Indian music. Both of them have had a parallel growth, each feeding and sustaining the other.

Manipuri

Manipuri, one of the main styles of **Indian Art or Classical Dances** originated in the picturesque and secluded state of Manipur in the north-eastern corner of India. Because of its geographical location, the people of Manipur have been protected from outside influences, and this region has been able to retain its unique traditional culture.

The origin of Manipuri dance can be traced back to ancient times that go beyond recorded history. The dance in Manipur is associated with rituals and traditional festivals, there are legendary references to the dances of Shiva and Parvati and other gods and goddesses who created the universe.



Lai Haraoba is one of the main festivals still performed in Manipur which has its roots in the pre-Vaishnavite period. **Lai Haraoba** is the earliest form of dance which forms the basis of all stylised dances in Manipur. Literally meaning - the merrymaking of the gods, it is performed as a ceremonial offering of song and dance. The principal performers are the **maibas** and **maibis** (priests and priestesses) who re-enact the theme of the creation of the world.



With the arrival of Vaishnavism in the 15th century A.D., new compositions based on episodes from the life of Radha and Krishna were gradually introduced. It was in the reign of King Bhagyachandra that the popular **Rasleela** dances of Manipur originated. It is said, that this 18th century philosopher king conceived this complete dance form along with its unique costume and music in a dream. Under successive rulers, new **leelas**, and rhythmic and melodic compositions were introduced.



Manipur dance has a large repertoire, however, the most popular forms are the **Ras**, the **Sankirtana** and the **Thang-Ta**. There are five principal Ras dances of which four are linked with specific seasons, while the fifth can be presented at any time of the year. In Manipuri Ras, the main characters are Radha, Krishna and the **gopis**.



The themes often depict the pangs of separation of the **gopis** and Radha from Krishna. The **parengs** or pure dance sequences performed in the **Rasleela** dances follow the specific rhythmic patterns and body movements, which are traditionally handed down. The **Ras costume** consists of a richly embroidered stiff skirt which extends to the feet.

A short fine white muslin skirt is worn over it. A dark coloured velvet blouse covers the upper part of the body and a traditional white veil is worn over a special hair-do which falls gracefully over the face. Krishna wears a yellow dhoti, a dark velvet jacket and a crown of peacock feathers. The jewellery is very delicate and the designs are unique to the region.

The Kirtan form of congregational singing accompanies the dance which is known as Sankirtana in Manipur. The male dancers play the Pung and Kartal while dancing. The masculine aspect of dance - the Choloms are a part of the Sankirtana tradition. The Pung and Kartal choloms are performed at all social and religious festivals.

The martial dancers of Manipur - the Thang-ta - have their origins in the days when man's survival depended on his ability to defend himself from wild animals.

Today, Manipur has an evolved and sophisticated repertoire of martial dances, the dancers use swords, spears and shields. Real fight scenes between the dancers show an extensive training and control of the body.

Manipuri dance incorporates both the **tandava** and **lasya** and ranges from the most vigorous masculine to the subdued and graceful feminine. Generally known for its lyrical and graceful movements, Manipuri dance has an elusive quality. In keeping with the subtleness of the style, Manipuri **abhinaya** does not play up the **mukhabhinaya** very much - the facial expressions are natural and not exaggerated - **sarvangabhinaya**, or the use of the whole body to convey a certain *rasa*, is its forte.

The rhythmic complexities are usually overlooked as the dancers do not wear ankle bells to stamp out the rhythms in a theatrical display, as this interferes with the delicate body movements. However, Manipuri dance and music has a highly evolved **tala system**.

The Manipuri classical style of singing is called **Nat** - very different from both north and south Indian music, this style is immediately recognizable with its high pitched open throated rendering with particular type of trills and modulations. The main musical instrument is the **Pung** or the Manipuri classical drum. There are also many other kinds of drums used in Manipuri dance and music. The **Pena**, a stringed instrument is used in **Lai Haraoba** and **Pena** singing. Various kinds of cymbals are used in **Sankirtana** and **Ras**. The flute is also used to accompany vocal singing.

The **Ashtapadis** of Jayadeva's **Geeta Govinda** are very popular and are sung and danced in Manipur with great religious fervour.

Besides the **Ras** and other **leelas**, each stage in one's life is celebrated with **Sankirtana** performances - child birth, **upanayanam**, wedding and **shradha** are all occasions for singing and dancing in Manipur. The whole community participates as song and dance form part of daily life expressions.

Odissi

ORISSA, on the eastern sea coast, is the home of Odissi, one of the many forms of Indian classical dance. Sensuous and lyrical, Odissi is a dance of love and passion touching on the divine and the human, the sublime and the mundane. The **Natya Shastra** mentions many regional varieties, such as the south-eastern style known as the **Odhra Magadha** which can be identified as the earliest precursor of present day Odissi.

Archaeological evidence of this dance form dating back to the 2nd century B.C. is found in the caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri near Bhubaneswar. Later, innumerable examples of the Buddhist sculptures, the tantric images of dancing Yoginis, the Nataraja, and other celestial musicians and dancers of early Shaivite temples bear testimony to a continuing tradition of dance from the 2nd century B.C.E to the 10th century C.E. These influences found synthesis in a unique philosophy - the **dharma** or **faith** of Jagannath. With Hinduism taking roots in Orissa by about the 7th century A.D., many imposing temples were erected. The magnificent Sun Temple at Konarak, built in the 13th century, with its **Natya mandap** or Hall of dance, marks the culmination of the temple building activity in Orissa. These dance



movements, frozen in stone, continue to inspire Odissi dancers even today.

For centuries **maharis** were the chief repositories of this dance. The **MAHARIS**, who were originally temple dancers came to be employed in royal courts which resulted in the degeneration of the art form. Around this time, a class of boys called **gotipuas** were trained in the art, they danced in the temples and also for general entertainment. Many of today's gurus of this style belong to the **gotipua** tradition.



Odissi is a highly stylised dance and to some extent is based on the classical **Natya Shastra** and the **Abhinaya Darpana**. In fact, it has derived a great deal from the **Abhinaya Darpana Prakash** by **Jadunatha Sinha**, the **Abhinaya Chandrika** by **Rajmani Patra**, and the **Abhinaya Chandrika** by **Maheshwara Mahapatra**.

As in other parts of India, creative literature inspired the Odissi dancer also and provided the themes for dance. This is especially true of the 12th century **Gita Govinda** by **Jayadeva**. It is a profound example of the **mayaka-nayika** bhava and surpasses other poems in its poetic and stylistic content. The devotion of the poet for Krishna permeates through the work.

Odissi closely follows the tenets laid down by the **Natya Shastra**. Facial expressions, hand gestures and body movements are used to suggest a certain feeling, an emotion or one of the nine **rasas**.

The techniques of movement are built around the two basic postures of the **Chowk** and the **Tribhanga**. The **chowk** is a position imitating a square - a very masculine stance with the weight of the body equally balanced. The **tribhanga** is a very feminine stance where the body is deflected at the neck, torso and the knees. The torso movement is very important and is a unique feature of the Odissi style. With the lower half of the body remaining static, the torso moves from one side to the other along the axis passing through the centre of the upper half of the body. Great training is required for this control so as to avoid any shoulder or hip movement. There are certain foot positions with flat, toe or heel contact. These are used in a variety of intricate combinations. There are also numerous possibilities of leg movements. Almost all leg movements are spiral or circular, whether in space or on the ground.

In addition to the leg movement, there are a variety of gaits for doing pirouettes and jumps and also certain postures inspired by the sculptures. These **bhangis**, as they are called are really units of movement ending in one particular stance.

Hand gestures play an important role both in **nritta** where they are used only as decorative embellishments and in **nritya** where they are used for communication.

The formal repertoire of Odissi has a certain order of presentation, where each successive item is systematically put together to produce the desired **rasa**.

The opening item is **Mangalacharan** where the dancer slowly enters the stage with flowers in her hands and makes an offering to mother earth. This is followed by an invocation to the deity of the dancer's choice. Generally, Ganesha is called upon to grant an auspicious beginning. The item ends with a **nritta** sequence with salutations to God, the Guru and the audience.

Rajinder Nagar: 1/8-B, 2nd Floor, Apsara Arcade, Near Gate 6, Karol Bagh Metro, Delhi

Mukherjee Nagar: 103, 1st Floor, B/1-2, Ansal Building, Behind UCO Bank, Delhi-9

09650617807, 09968029039, 09717162595

www.visionias.in

©Vision IAS

The next item is called **Batu** where the basic concepts of the Odissi **nritta** technique are highlighted bringing out the duality of the masculine and the feminine through the basic stance of the **chauk** and **tribhanga**. This is danced in praise of **BatukeshwarBhairav** or **Shiva**. The accompanying music is very simple -only a refrain of dance syllables.

After the very basic exposition of **nritta** in **Batu**, comes the flowering and ornamentation of music and movements in **Pallavi**. A musical composition in a particular **raga** is visually represented by the dancer with slow and subtle movements, building up into complex patterns highlighting rhythmic variations within the **tala** structure.

This is followed by the rendering of **abhinaya**. Orissa has a continuing tradition of dancing of the **Ashtapadis** of Jayadeva's **Gita Govinda** since the 12th century. The lyricism of this poem is particularly suited to the Odissi style. Apart from the **Gita Govinda**, the compositions of other Oriya poets like Upendra Bhanja, Baladeva Ratha, Banamali and Gopal Krishna are also sung.

The concluding item of the repertoire, which may consist of more than one **pallavi** and items based on **abhinaya**, is called **moksha**. **Pakhawaj** syllables are recited and the dance moves from slow to quick sequences to reach a climax, when the dancer pays the final obeisance.

An Odissi orchestra essentially consists of a **pakhawaj** player (usually the Guru himself), a singer, a flutist, a sitar or violin player and a **manjira** player.

The dancer is adorned in elaborate Oriya silver jewellery and a special hair-do. The **sari**, usually stitched nowadays, is unique to the style.

In each performance, even a modern Odissi dancer still reaffirms the faith of the **devadasis** or **maharis** where they sought liberation or moksha through the medium of dance.

Sattriya

The Sattriya dance form was introduced in the 15th century A.D by the great Vaishnava saint and reformer of Assam, Mahapurusha Sankaradeva as a powerful medium for propagation of the Vaishnava faith. The dance form evolved and expanded as a distinctive style of dance later on. This neo-Vaishnava treasure of Assamese dance and drama has been, for centuries, nurtured and preserved with great commitment by the Sattras i.e. Vaishnava **maths** or monasteries. Because of its religious character and association with the Sattras, this dance style has been aptly named Sattriya.



Sankaradeva introduced this dance form by incorporating different elements from various treatises, local folk dances with his own rare outlook. There were two dance forms prevalent in Assam before the neo-Vaishnava movement such as Ojapali and Devadasi with many classical elements. Two varieties of Ojapali dances are still prevalent in Assam i.e. Sukananni or Maroi Goa Ojah and Vyah Goa Ojah. Sukananni Oja paali is of Sakti cult and Vyah Goa Oja paali is of Vaishnava cult. Sankaradeva included Vyah Goa Ojah into his daily rituals in Sattras. Till now Vyah

Goa Ojah is a part of rituals of the Sattras of Assam. The dancers in a Oja paali chorus not only sing and dance but also explain the narration by gestures and stylized movements. As far as Devadasi dance is concerned, resemblance of a good number of rhythmic syllables and dance postures along with footwork with Sattriya dance is a clear indication of the influence of the former on the latter. Other visible influences on Sattriya dance are those from Assamese folk dances namely Bihu, Bodos etc. Many hand gestures and rhythmic syllables are strikingly similar in these dance forms.

Sattriya dance tradition is governed by strictly laid down principles in respect of **hastamudras, footworks, aharyas**, music etc. This tradition, has two distinctly separate streams - the Bhaona-related repertoire starting from the Gayan-Bhayanar Nach to the Kharmanar Nach, secondly the dance numbers which are independent, such as Chali, Rajagharia Chali, Jhumura, Nadu Bhangi etc. Among them the Chali is characterized by gracefulness and elegance, while the Jhumura is marked by vigor and majestic beauty.

Mohiniyattam

Mohiniattam, is a classical dance form from Kerala, India. Believed to have originated in 16th century CE, it is one of the eight Indian classical dance forms recognised by the Sangeet Natak Akademi. It is considered a very graceful form of dance meant to be performed as solo recitals by women.

Mohiniyattam was popularised as a popular dance form in the nineteenth century by Swathi Thirunal, the Maharaja of the state of Travancore (Southern Kerala), and Vadivelu, one of the Thanjavur Quartet. Swathi Thirunal promoted the study of Mohiniyattam during his reign, and is credited with the composition of many music arrangements and vocal accompaniments that provide musical background for modern Mohiniyattam dancers. The noted Malayalam poet Vallathol, who established the Kerala Kalamandalam dance school in 1930, played an important role in popularizing Mohiniattam in the 20th century.

The term Mohiniyattam comes from the words "Mohini" meaning a woman who enchants onlookers and "aattam" meaning graceful and sensuous body movements. The word "Mohiniyattam" literally means "dance of the enchantress". There are two stories of the Lord Vishnu disguised as a Mohini. In one, he appears as Mohini to lure the asuras (demons) away from the amrita (nectar of immortality) obtained during the churning of the palazhi (ocean of milk and salt water).

In the second story Vishnu appears as Mohini to save Lord Shiva from the demon Bhasmasura. The name Mohiniyattam may have been coined after Lord Vishnu; the main theme of the dance is love and devotion to God, with usually Vishnu or Krishna being the hero. Devadasis used to perform this in temples. It also has elements of Koothu and Kottiyattom. Mohiniyattam is a drama in dance and verse.

The dance involves the swaying of broad hips and the gentle movements of erect posture from side to side. This is reminiscent of the swinging of the palm leaves and the gently flowing rivers which abound Kerala, the land of Mohiniyattam. There are approximately 40 basic movements, known as atavukal.

The three pillars — Sri Swathi Thirunal Rama Varma, Sri Vallathol Narayana Menon (a poet and

founder of the institution, Kerala Kalamandalam) and Smt. Kalamandalam Kalyanikutty Amma (considered “the mother of Mohiniyattam”) — contributed to the shaping out of the contemporary Mohiniyattam during the later part of the 20th century. Guru Kalyanikutty Amma cleared the mythical mystery behind the name of this dance form and gave it the most convincing explanation based on truth, social and historical evolution, interpreting Mohiniyattam as the dance of a beautiful lady than that of a mythical enchantress from heaven.

The costume includes white sari embroidered with bright golden brocade (known as kasavu) at the edges. The dance follows the classical text of Hastha Lakshanadeepika, which has elaborate description of mudras (gestural expressions by the hand palm and fingers).

The Jewellery our traditional dancers wear is the typical complete set of *Temple Golden Finish Jewellery with a proper wide Golden Lakshmi belt specially designed for Mohiniyattam. The foot steps are made tinkling with a good pair of original Chilanka or either known as Ghungroo or Dancing bells worn by the dancer on her legs. The performer also adorns herself with Fresh white Jasmine flowers which is decked to her hair bun arranged on the left side of the head pinned on to a beautiful Jurapin, which makes Mohiniyattam artists distinct from other dance forms artists of India.*

The vocal music of Mohiniyattam involves variations in rhythmic structure known as chollu. The lyrics are in Manipravalam, a mixture of Sanskrit and Malayalam. The Mohiniyattam dance is performed to this accompaniment by the subtle gestures and footwork of the danseuse. The performer uses the eyes in a very coy, sensual manner to enchant the mind without enticing the senses.

References:

1. Centre for cultural resource and training - <http://ccrtindia.gov.in/>
2. Wikipedia

INDIAN PAINTING

Indian painting has a very long tradition and history in Indian art. The earliest Indian paintings were the rock paintings of pre-historic times, the petroglyphs as found in places like Bhimbetka, some of them from before 5500 BC. India's Buddhist literature is replete with examples of texts which describe palaces of the army and the aristocratic class embellished with paintings, but the paintings of the Ajanta Caves are the most significant of the few survivals. Smaller scale painting in manuscripts was probably also practised in this period, though the earliest survivals are from the medieval period. Mughal painting represented a fusion of the Persian miniature with older Indian traditions, and from the 17th century its style was diffused across Indian princely courts of all religions, each developing a local style. Company paintings were made for British clients under the British raj, which from the 19th century also introduced art schools along Western lines, leading to modern Indian painting, which is increasingly returning to its Indian routes.

Indian paintings provide an aesthetic continuum that extends from the early civilisation to the present day. From being essentially religious in purpose in the beginning, Indian painting has evolved over the years to become a fusion of various cultures and traditions.

Sadanga of Indian painting

Around 1st century BC the Sadanga or Six Limbs of Indian Painting, were evolved, a series of canons laying down the main principles of the art. Vatsyayana, who lived during the third century A.D., enumerates these in his Kamasutra having extracted them from still more ancient works.

These 'Six Limbs' have been translated as follows:

1. Rupabheda The knowledge of appearances.
2. Pramanam Correct perception, measure and structure.
3. Bhava Action of feelings on forms.
4. Lavanya Yojanam Infusion of grace, artistic representation.
5. Sadrisyam Similitude.
6. Varnikabhanga Artistic manner of using the brush and colours. (Tagore.)

The subsequent development of painting by the Buddhists indicates that these 'Six Limbs' were put into practice by Indian artists, and are the basic principles on which their art was founded.

Genres of Indian Painting

Indian paintings can be broadly classified as murals and miniatures. Murals are large works executed on the walls of solid structures, as in the Ajanta Caves and the Kailashnath temple. Miniature paintings are executed on a very small scale for books or albums on perishable material such as paper and cloth. The Palas of Bengal were the pioneers of miniature painting in India. The art of miniature painting reached its glory during the Mughal period. The tradition of miniature paintings was carried forward by the painters of different Rajasthani schools of painting like the Bundi, Kishangarh, Jaipur, Marwar and Mewar. The Ragamala paintings also belong to this school, as does the Company painting produced for British clients under the British Raj.

10 Murals

Mural painting is inherently different from all other forms of pictorial art in that it is organically connected with architecture. The use of colour, design, and thematic treatment can radically alter the sensation of spatial proportions of the building; in this sense mural is the only form of painting that is truly three-dimensional, since it modifies and partakes of a given space. Apart from its organic relation to architecture, a second characteristic of mural painting is its broad public significance. The mural artist must conceive pictorially a social,



religious, or patriotic theme on the appropriate scale in reference both to the structural exigencies of the wall and to the idea expressed.

The history of Indian murals starts in ancient and early medieval times, from 2nd century BC to 8th – 10th century AD. There are known more than 20 locations around India containing murals from this period, mainly natural caves and rock-cut chambers. The highest achievements of this time are the caves of Ajanta, Bagh, Sittanavasal, Armamalai Cave (Tamil Nadu), Ravan Chhaya rock shelter, Kailasanatha temple in Ellora Caves.

Murals from this period depict mainly religious themes of Buddhist, Jain and Hindu religions. There are though also locations where paintings were made to adorn mundane premises, like the ancient theatre room in Jogimara Cave and possible royal hunting lodge circa 7th-century AD – Ravan Chhaya rock shelter.

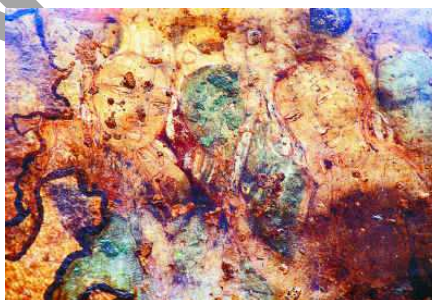
Later Murals

Even after Ajanta, very few sites with paintings have survived which provide valuable evidences to reconstruct the tradition of paintings. It may also be noted that the sculptures too were plastered and painted. The tradition of cave excavations continued further at many places where sculpting and painting were done simultaneously.

10.1 Badami paintings

Badami is a cave site in the state of Karnataka. It was the capital of western chalukyan dynasty. The chalukya king, Manglesha, patronized the excavations of the Badami caves.

The patron record of cave shows Vaishnava affiliation. Therefore the cave popularly known as Vishnu cave. Only a fragment of painting has survived on the vaulted roof of the front mandapa.



Paintings in these caves depict palace scenes. One shows the Kirtivarman, the son of pulakesin-I. Stylistically speaking, the painting represents an extension of the tradition of mural painting from Ajanta to Badami in south India. The sinuously drawn lines, fluid forms and compact composition exemplify the proficiency and maturity of the artist. The gracefully drawn faces of the king and queen remind us of the style of modeling in Ajanta.

It is noteworthy to observe that the contours of different parts of the face of the face create protruding structures of face itself. Thus, with simple line treatment artist could create volume.



10.2 Murals under the Pallava, Pandava and Chola kings

The Pallava kings who succeeded the Chalukya kings in parts of South India, were also patrons of

Rajinder Nagar: 1/8-B, 2nd Floor, Apsara Arcade, Near Gate 6, Karol Bagh Metro, Delhi

Mukherjee Nagar: 103, 1st Floor, B/1-2, Ansal Building, Behind UCO Bank, Delhi-9

09650617807, 09968029039, 09717162595

arts.

Mahendravarman I who ruled in the seventh century was responsible for building temples at Panamalai, Mandagapattu and Kanchipuram. The inscription at Mandagapattu mentions Mahendravarman I with numerous titles such as Vichitrachitta (curious-minded), Chitrakarapuli (tiger among artists), Chaityakari (temple builder), which show his interest in art activities. The paintings in these temples too were done at his initiative, though only fragments remain. The Panamalai figure of a female divinity is drawn gracefully. Paintings at the Kanchipuram temple were patronised by the Pallava king, Rajsimha. Only traces of paintings remain now which depict Somaskanda. Faces are round and large. Lines are rhythmic with increased ornamentation when compared with the paintings of an earlier periods. Depiction of torso still remains like the earlier sculptural tradition but is elongated.

When the Pandyas rose to power, they too patronised art. Tirumalaipuram caves and Jain caves at Sittanvasal are some of the surviving examples. A few fragmented layers of paintings can be seen in Tirumalaipuram. In Sittanvasal, the paintings are visible on the ceilings of shrines, in verandas, and on the brackets.

The tradition of building temples and embellishing them with carvings and paintings continued during the reign of the Chola kings who ruled over the region from the ninth to the thirteenth century. Though Chola paintings are seen in Nartamalai, the most important are those in Brihadeswara temple. The paintings were executed on the walls of the narrow passage surrounding the shrine. Two layers of paint were found when they were discovered. The upper layer was painted during the Nayak period, in the sixteenth century. Thanks to the cleaning of the surface painting, examples of the great tradition of painting during the Chola Period were unveiled. The paintings show narrations and aspects related to Lord Shiva, Shiva in Kailash, Shiva as Tripurantaka, Shiva as Nataraja, a portrait of the patron Rajaraja and his mentor Kuruvar, dancing figures, etc.

10.3 Vijayanagara murals

With the decline of power of the Chola dynasty in the thirteenth century, the Vijayanagara Dynasty captured and brought under its control the region from Hampi to Trichy with Hampi serving as its capital.

Many paintings survive in a number of temples. The paintings at Tiruparakunram, near Trichy, done in the fourteenth century represent the early phase of the Vijayanagara style. In Hampi, the Virupaksha temple has paintings on the ceiling of its mandapanarrating events from dynastic history and episodes from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata.



In Lepakshi, near Hindupur, in present Andhra Pradesh, there are glorious examples of Vijayanagara paintings on the walls of the Shiva temple.

10.4 Nayaka Murals

Nayaka paintings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are seen in Thiruparakunram, Sreerangam and Tiruvarur. In Thiruparakunram, paintings are found of two different periods—of the fourteenth and the seventeenth century. Early paintings depict scenes from the life of Vardhaman Mahavira.

The Nayaka paintings depict episodes from the Mahabharata and the Ramayana and also scenes from Krishna-leela.



10.5 Kerala Murals

Kerala painters (during the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century) evolved a pictorial language and technique of their own while discriminately adopting certain stylistic elements from Nayaka and Vijayanagara schools. The painters evolved a language taking cues from contemporary traditions like Kathakali and kalam ezhuthu using vibrant and luminous colours, representing figures in three-dimensionality. Most of the paintings are seen on the walls of shrines and cloister walls of temples and some inside palaces. Thematically too, paintings from Kerala stand apart. Most of the narrations are based on those episodes from Hindu mythology which were popular in Kerala. The artist seems to have derived sources from oral traditions and local versions of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata for painted narration.



11 Miniature Painting

11.1 The Pala School (11th – 12th Century)

The earliest examples of miniature painting in India exist in the form of illustrations to the religious texts on Buddhism executed under the Palas of the eastern India and the Jain texts executed in western India during the 11th-12th centuries A.D. The Pala period (750 A.D. to the middle of the 12th century) witnessed the last great phase of Buddhism and of the Buddhist art in India. The Buddhist monasteries (MAHAVIHARAS) of Nalanda, Odantapuri, Vikramsila and Somarupa were great centres of Buddhist learning and art. A large number of manuscripts on palm-leaf relating to the Buddhist themes were written and illustrated with the images of Buddhist deities at these centres which also had workshops for the casting of bronze images.



The Palla painting is characterised by sinuous line and subdued tones of colour. It is a naturalistic style which resembles the ideal forms of contemporary bronze and stone sculpture, and reflects some feeling of the classical art of Ajanta.

11.2 Western Indian School of Painting



Western Indian painting, also called Jain painting, is a highly conservative style of Indian miniature painting largely devoted to the illustration of Jain religious texts of the 12th–16th century. Though examples of the school are most numerous from Gujarāt state, paintings in Western Indian style have also been found in Uttar Pradesh and central India. In Orissa on the east coast, the style has persisted almost to the present.

The school is characterized by simple, bright colours, highly conventionalized figures, and wiry, angular drawing. The naturalism of early Indian wall painting is entirely absent.

The earliest manuscripts are on palm leaves, and the same oblong format (about 12 by 4 inches [30 by 10 cm]) was continued even after paper began to be used toward the end of the 14th century. The style, fairly well established by the end of the 13th century, changed little over the next 250 years. Figures are shown for the most part from a frontal view, with the head in profile. The facial type, with its pointed nose, is related to that seen in wall paintings at Ellora

(mid-8th century) and is remarkably close to medieval sculpture. A striking convention is the projecting “further eye,” which extends beyond the outline of the face in profile.

11.3 Mughal Painting

Mughal painting is a particular style of Indian painting, generally confined to illustrations on the book and done in miniatures, and which emerged, developed and took shape during the period of the Mughal Empire 16th –19th centuries.

Mughal paintings were a unique blend of Indian, Persian and Islamic styles. Because the Mughal kings wanted visual records of their deeds as hunters and conquerors, their artists accompanied them on military expeditions or missions of state, or recorded their prowess as animal slayers, or depicted them in the great dynastic ceremonies of marriages.

Akbar's reign (1556–1605) ushered a new era in Indian miniature painting. After he had consolidated his political power, he built a new capital at Fatehpur Sikri where he collected artists from India and Persia. He was the first monarch who established in India an atelier under the supervision of two Persian master artists, Mir Sayyid Ali and Abdus Samad. Earlier, both of them had served under the patronage of Humayun in Kabul and accompanied him to India when he regained his throne in 1555. More than a hundred painters were employed, most of whom were Hindus from Gujarat, Gwalior and Kashmir, who gave a birth to a new school of painting, popularly known as the Mughal School of miniature Paintings.



One of the first productions of that school of miniature painting was the Hamzanama series, which according to the court historian, Badayuni, was started in 1567 and completed in 1582. The Hamzanama, stories of Amir Hamza, an uncle of the Prophet, were illustrated by Mir Sayyid Ali. The paintings of the Hamzanama are of large size, 20 x 27" and were painted on cloth. They are in the Persian safavi style. Brilliant red, blue and green colours predominate; the pink, eroded rocks and the vegetation, planes and blossoming plum and peach trees are reminiscent of Persia. However, Indian tones appear in later work, when Indian artists were employed.



After him, Jahangir encouraged artists to paint portraits and durbar scenes. His most talented portrait painters were Ustad Mansur, Abul Hasan and Bishandas.

Shah Jahan (1627–1658) continued the patronage of painting. Some of the famous artists of the period were Mohammad Faqirullah Khan, Mir Hashim, Muhammad Nadir, Bichitr, Chitarman, Anupchhatar, Manohar and Honhar. Aurangzeb had no taste for fine arts. Due to lack of patronage artists migrated to Hyderabad in the Deccan and to the Hindu states of Rajasthan in search of new patrons.

11.4 Rājput Painting

Rājput painting, the art of the independent Hindu feudal states in India, as distinguished from the court art of the Mughal emperors. Whereas Mughal painting was contemporary in style, Rājput was traditional and romantic.

It developed in the 16th and early 17th centuries, and its late period lasted through 1825. Rājput painting is further divided into Rājasthānī painting, or the schools of the Rājasthān and central India, and Pahari painting, or the art of the Himalayan kingdoms.

11.4.1 The Central Indian and Rajasthani Schools (17th – 19th Century)

Malwa painting

Mālwa painting, 17th century school of Rājasthānī miniature painting centred largely in Mālwa and Bundelkhand (in modern Madhya Pradesh state); it is sometimes referred to as Central Indian painting on the basis of its geographical distribution. The school was conservative, and little development is seen from the earliest examples, such as the Rasikapriyā (a poem analyzing the love sentiment) series dated 1636 and the Amaru Śataka (a Sanskrit poem of the late 17th century), now in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. Little is known of the nature of the school in the 18th century.



Mālwa paintings show a fondness for rigorously flat compositions, black and chocolate-brown backgrounds, figures shown against a solid colour patch, and architecture painted in lively colour. The school's most appealing features are a primitive charm and a simple childlike vision.

Kishangarh painting

Kishangarh painting, 18th-century school of the Rājasthānī style of Indian painting that arose in the princely state of Kishangarh (central Rājasthān state). The school is clearly distinguished by its individualistic facial type and its religious intensity. The sensitive, refined features of the men and women are drawn with pointed noses and chins, deeply curved eyes, and serpentine locks of hair. Their action is frequently shown to occur in large panoramic landscapes.



Though competent paintings similar in style to late Mughal art were perhaps being done in Kishangarh at the end of the 17th century, the brilliant series of paintings on the Rādhā–Krishna theme were due largely to the inspiration of Raja Śāvant Singh (reigned 1748–57). He was a poet, also, who wrote under the name of Nagari Dās, as well as a devout member of the Vallabhācārya sect, which worships the lord in his appearance on Earth as Krishna, the divine lover. Śāvant Singh fell in love with a singer in the employ of his

Rajinder Nagar: 1/8-B, 2nd Floor, Apsara Arcade, Near Gate 6, Karol Bagh Metro, Delhi

Mukherjee Nagar: 103, 1st Floor, B/1-2, Ansal Building, Behind UCO Bank, Delhi-9

09650617807, 09968029039, 09717162595

www.visionias.in

©Vision IAS

stepmother called Bani Thani ("Lady of Fashion"), and it is speculated that her features may have been the model for the Kishangarh facial type. The master artist largely responsible for transmitting the romantic and religious passions of his patron into new and fresh visual images was Nihal Chand.

Mewār painting

Mewār painting, one of the most important schools of Indian miniature painting of the 17th and 18th centuries. It is a school in the Rājasthānī style and was developed in the Hindu principality of Mewār (in Rājasthān state). The works of the school are characterized by simple bright colour and direct emotional appeal. The comparatively large number of paintings to which dates and places of origin can be ascribed make possible a more comprehensive picture of the development of painting in Mewār than in any other Rājasthānī school. The earliest-dated examples come from a RĀGAMĀLĀ (musical modes) series painted in 1605 at Chawand, an early capital of the state. This expressive and vigorous style continued with some variations through 1680, after which time Mughal influence became more apparent. One of the outstanding painters of the early phase was the artist Sāhibdīn.



The Mewār school continued through the 18th century and into the 19th, the production being fairly prolific. An increasing number of paintings were concerned with portraiture and the life of the ruler, though religious themes continued to be popular.

Bundi painting

The Bundi style of painting is very close to the Mewar style, but the former excels the latter in quality. Painting in Bundi started as early as circa 1625 A.D. A painting showing Bhairavi Ragini, in the Allahabad Museum is one of the earliest examples of Bundi painting. Some examples are, an illustrated manuscript of the Bhagawata. Purana in the Kotah Museum and a series of the Rasikapriya in the National Museum, New Delhi.

A series of the Rasikapriya of the late 17th century, has a scene which represents Krishna trying to collect butter from a Gopi, but finding that the pot contains a piece of cloth and some other objects and no butter he realises that he has been duped by the Gopi. In the background are trees and in the foreground is a river indicated with wavy lines. In the river are seen flowers and a pair of aquatic birds. The painting has a border in brilliant red colour. The peculiar characteristics of the Bundi painting, as evident in this miniature, are the rich and glowing colours, the rising sun in golden colour, crimson-red horizon, overlapping and semi-naturalistic trees. The Mughal influence is visible in the refined drawing of the faces and an element of naturalism in the treatment of the trees. The text is written in black against yellow background on the



Rajinder Nagar: 1/8-B, 2nd Floor, Apsara Arcade, Near Gate 6, Karol Bagh N

Mukherjee Nagar: 103, 1st Floor, B/1-2, Ansal Building, Behind UCC

09650617807, 09968029039, 09717162595

www.visionias.in

top.

Kotah painting

A style of painting very much akin to the Bundi style also prevailed in Kotah a place near Bundi, during the late 18th and 19th centuries. Themes of tiger and bear hunt were very popular at Kotah. In Kotah paintings, most of the space is occupied by the hilly jungle which has been rendered with a unique charm.

11.4.2 The Pahari Schools (17th – 19th Century)

The Pahari region comprises the present State of Himachal Pradesh, some adjoining areas of the Punjab, the area of Jammu in the Jammu and Kashmir State and Garhwal in Uttar Pradesh. The whole of this area was divided into small States ruled by the Rajput princes and were often engaged in warfare. These States were centres of great artistic activity from the latter half of the 17th to nearly the middle of the 19th century.

Basohli Painting

Basohli painting, school of Pahari miniature painting that flourished in the Indian hill states during the late 17th and the 18th centuries, known for its bold vitality of colour and line. Though the school takes its name from the small independent state of Basohli, the principal centre of the style, examples are found throughout the region.



The origins of the school are obscure; one of the earliest examples so far discovered, a series of illustrations to the *Rasamañjarī* (c. 1690), exhibits a style already completely formed. An oblong format is favoured, with the picture space usually delineated by architectural detail, which often breaks into the characteristic red borders.

The stylized facial type, shown in profile, is dominated by the large, intense eye. The colours are always brilliant, with ochre yellow, brown, and green grounds predominating. A distinctive technique is the depiction of jewelry by thick, raised drops of white paint, with particles of green beetles' wings used to represent emeralds.

Guler painting

The last phase of the Basohli style was closely followed by the Jammu group of paintings mainly consisting of portraits of Raja Balwant Singh of Jasrota (a small place near Jammu) by Nainsukh, an artist who originally belonged to Guler but had settled at Jasrota. He worked both at Jasrota and at Guler. These paintings are in a new naturalistic and delicate style



Rajinder Nagar: 1/8-B, 2nd Floor, Apsara Arcade, Near Gate 6, Karol Bagh Met

Mukherjee Nagar: 103, 1st Floor, B/1-2, Ansal Building, Behind UCO Ba

09650617807, 09968029039, 09717162595

www.visionias.in

©Vision IAS

marking a change from the earlier traditions of the Basohli art. The colours used are soft and cool. The style appears to have been inspired by the naturalistic style of the Mughal painting of the Muhammad Shah period.

Kangra painting

The Guler style was followed by another style of painting termed as the "Kangra style", representing the third phase of the Pahari painting in the last quarter of the 18th century. The Kangra style developed out of the Guler style. It possesses the main characteristics of the latter style, like the delicacy of drawing and quality of naturalism. The name Kangra style is given to this group of painting for the reason that they are identical in style to the portraits of Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra. In these paintings, the faces of women in profile have the nose almost in line with the forehead, the eyes are long and narrow and the chin is sharp. There is, however, no modelling of figures and hair is treated as a flat mass. The Kangra style continued to flourish at various places namely Kangra, Guler, Basohli, Chamba, Jammu, Nurpur and Garhwal etc. Paintings of the Kangra style are attributed mainly to the Nainsukh family. Some of the Pahari painters found patronage in the Punjab under Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the Sikh nobility in the beginning of the 19th century and executed portraits and other miniatures in a modified version of the Kangra style which continued till the middle of the 19th century.



Kulu – Mandi painting

Along with the naturalistic Kangra style in the Pahari region, there also flourished a folk style of painting in the Kulu-Mandi area, mainly inspired by the local tradition. The style is marked by bold drawing and the use of dark and dull colours. Though influence of the Kangra style is observed in certain cases yet the style maintains its distinct folkish character. A large number of portraits of the Kulu and Mandi rulers and miniatures on other themes are available in this style.

A miniature from the series of the Bhagavata in the collection of the National Museum was painted by Shri Bhagwan in 1794 A.D. Illustrations show Krishna lifting the Goverdhana mountain on his little finger to save the people of Gokula from the wrath of Indra who has let loose heavy rains. The dark clouds and rain in the form of white dotted lines are shown in the background. The drawing of figures is bold though rather stiff. The painting has a yellow floral border.



12 Modern Painting

Nomenclatures are not always irrelevant, for example, the term 'modern'. It may mean many things to many persons. So also the term 'contemporary'. Even in the field of the fine arts there is confusion and unnecessary controversy among artists, art historians, and critics. In fact, they all really have the same thing in mind and the arguments hover round terminological

implications only. It is not necessary here to indulge in this semantic exercise. Roughly, many consider that the modern period in Indian art began around 1857 or so. This is a historical premise. The National Gallery of Modern Art, New Delhi covers its collection from about this period. In the west, the modern period starts conveniently with the Impressionists. However, when we talk of modern Indian Art, we generally start with the Bengal School of Painting. Both in the matter of precedence and importance, we have to follow the course of art in the order of painting, sculpture, and the graphics, the last being comparatively a very recent development.

Broadly speaking, the essential characteristics of the modern or contemporary art are a certain freedom from invention, the acceptance of an eclectic approach which has placed artistic expression in the international perspective as against the regional, a positive elevation of technique which has become both proliferous and supreme, and the emergence of the artist as a distinct individual.

Many people consider modern art as a forbidding, if not forbidden, territory. It is not, and no field of human achievement is. The best way of dealing with the unfamiliar is to face it squarely. All that is necessary is will, perseverance and reasonable constant exposure or confrontation.

Towards the close of the nineteenth century, Indian painting, as an extension of the Indian miniature painting, snapped and fell on the decline and degenerated into feeble and unfelt imitation largely due to historical reasons, both political and sociological, resulting in the creation of a lacuna which was not filled until the early years of the twentieth century, and even then not truly. There was only some minor artistic expression in the intervening period by way of the 'Bazar' and 'Company' styles of painting, apart from the more substantial folk forms which were alive in many parts of the country. Then followed the newly ushered Western concept of naturalism, the foremost exponent of which was Raja Ravi Verma. This was without parallel in the entire annals of Indian Art notwithstanding some occasional references in Indian literature of the idea of 'likeness'.



An attempt to stem this cultural morass was made by Abanindranath Tagore under whose inspired leadership came into being a new school of painting which was distinctly nostalgic and romantic to start with. It held its way for well over three decades as the Bengal School of Painting, also called the Renaissance School or the Revivalist School - it was both. Despite its country-wide influence in the early years, the importance of the School declined by the 'forties' and now it is as good as dead. While the contribution of the Renaissance School served painting as an inspired and well intentioned if not wholly successful link with the past, it has had little consequence even as a 'take off ground for the subsequent modern movement in art. The origins of modern Indian art lie elsewhere.

The period at the end of the Second World War released unprecedented and altogether new forces and situations, political as well as cultural, which confronted the artist, as much as all of us, with an experience and exposure of great consequence. The period significantly coincided with the



Rajinder Nagar: 1/8-B, 2nd Floor, Apsara Arcade, Near Gate 6, Karol

Mukherjee Nagar: 103, 1st Floor, B/1-2, Ansal Building, Behi

09650617807, 09968029039, 09717162

independence of the country. With freedom also came unprecedented opportunity. The artist was set upon a general course of modernization and confrontation with the big, wide world, especially with the Western World, with far-reaching consequences. Too far removed as he was from Indian tradition and heritage and emotionally estranged from its true spirit, he absorbed the new experience eagerly too fast and too much. The situation is as valid even to this day and has a ring of historical inevitability. This is just as true of Modern Indian literature and the theatre. In dance the process of modernization is marginal and in music even less. While the artist learnt much from this experience, he had unconsciously entered the race towards a new international concept in art. One might regard this as a typical characteristic of a new-born old nation and part of its initial predicament. Our attitude to life in general, the various approaches to solve an infinite variety of problems are similarly oriented.

A major characteristic of contemporary Indian Painting is that the technique and method have acquired a new significance. Form came to be regarded as separate entity and with its increasing emphasis it subordinated the content in a work of art. This was wholly true until recently and is true somewhat even now. Form was not regarded as a vehicle for content. In fact the position was reverse. And the means, inspired and developed on extraneous elements, rendered technique very complex and brought in its train a new aesthetique. The painter has gained a great deal on the visual and sensory level: particularly in regard to the use of colour, in the concept of design and structure, texture, and in the employment, of unconventional materials. A painting stood or fell in terms of colour, compositional contrivance or sheer texture. Art on the whole acquired an autonomy of its own and the artist an individual status as never before.

On the other hand, we have lost the time-honoured unified concept of art, the modern artistic manifestation having clearly taken a turn where any one of the elements that once made art a wholesome entity now claimed extraordinary attention to the partial or total exclusion of the rest. With the rise of individualism and the consequent isolation of the artist ideologically, there is the new problem of the lack of a real rapport of the artist with the people. The predicament is aggravated by the absence of any appreciable and specific inter-relation between the artist and society. While it may be argued up to a degree that this characteristic predicament of contemporary art is the result of a sociological compulsion, and that present day art is reflective of the chaotic conditions of contemporary society, one cannot but notice the unfortunate hiatus between the artist and society. The impact of horizons beyond one's own has its salutary aspects and singular validity in the light of increasing international spirit of the present times. The easy transport with other peoples and ideas is salutary particularly in respect of technique and material, in the sharing of new ideologies and in investing art and artists with a new status.

Once more, at the end of quarter century of eclecticism and experimentation, there is some evidence of a pent up feeling and of an attempt to retrace and take stock of things. The experience and knowledge, invaluable as it is, is being shifted and assessed. As against the over-bearing, non-descript anomaly of internationalism, there is an attempt to look for an alternative source of inspiration which, while it has to be contemporary may well spring from one's own soil and be in tune with one's environment.



Contemporary Indian art has travelled a long way since the days of Ravi Verma, Abanindranath Tagore and his followers and even Amrita Sher-Gil. Broadly, the pattern followed is this. Almost every artist of note began with one kind of representational or figurative art or the other tinged with impressionism, expressionism or post-expressionism. The irksome relationship of form and content was generally kept at a complementary level. Then through various stages of elimination and simplifications, through cubism, abstraction and a variety of expressionistic trends, the artists reached near non-figurative and totally non-figurative levels. The 'pop' and the 'op', the minimal and anti-art have really not caught the fancy of our artists, except for very minor aberrations. And, having reached the dead and cold abstraction, the only way open is to sit back and reflect. This copy-book pattern has been followed by a great number of artists, including senior and established ones. As a reaction to this journey into nothing, there are three new major trends: projection of the disturbed social unrest and instability with the predicament of man as the main theme; an interest in Indian thought and metaphysics, manifested in the so called 'tantric' paintings and in paintings with symbolical import; and more than these two trends is the new interest in vague surrealist approaches and in fantasy. More important than all this, is the fact that nobody now talks of the conflict between form and content or technique and expression. In fact, and in contradiction to the earlier avowal, almost everybody is certain that technique and form are only important prerequisites to that mysterious something of an idea, message or spirit, that spark of the unfathomable entity that makes such man a little different from the other.

INDIAN THEATRE: INHERITANCE, TRANSITIONS AND FUTURE OPTIONS

The Indian theatre has a tradition going back to at least 5000 years. The earliest book on dramaturgy anywhere in the world was written in India. It was called Natya Shastra, i.e., the grammar or the holy book of theatre by Bharat Muni. Its time has been placed between 2000 B.C. to 4th Century A.D. A long span of time and practice is needed for any art or activity to form its rules and notifications. Therefore, it can be said with assurance that to have a book like Natya Shastra, the Indian theatre must have begun long, long before that if we go back to historical records, excavations and references available in the two great epics The Ramayana and The Mahabharata.

Theatre in India started as a narrative form, i.e., reciting, singing and dancing becoming integral elements of the theatre. This emphasis on narrative elements made our theatre essentially theatrical right from the beginning. That is why the theatre in India has encompassed all the other forms of literature and fine arts into its physical presentation: Literature, Mime, Music, Dance, Movement, Painting, Sculpture and Architecture - all mixed into one and being called 'Natya' or Theatre in English.

Here it can be said that all the ancient traditions in the world - whether Eastern or Western - present almost the same picture of the theatre. On a superficial overview of both the traditions, they may sound similar in their exterior or physical manifestations but if we go deeper into the philosophy and outlook of both the worlds, it will be easier to understand that both of them are poles apart in their basic nature. The western philosophy of life is deep-rooted in the belief that there is no life after death whereas the Indian philosophy, especially the Hindu doctrine, sees life in a continuity, i.e., there is no end even after death.

Life keeps on moving as a circular activity. Theatre in the West presents life as it is whereas in India it presents life as it should be. In other words, this can be explained like this : Life in the West has been portrayed nearer to realism whether in theatre or other arts but in India it has been illustrated more in idealistic terms. This has been so right from the beginnings of the theatre in both the hemispheres.

Phases

After understanding this basic nature of Indian theatre, we can elaborate further on its development in India. Roughly it can be divided into three distinctive phases: the classical period; the traditional period and the modern period.

Phase I includes the writing and practice of theatre up to about 1000 A.D., almost based on rules, regulations and modifications handed by Natya Shastra. They apply to the writing of plays, performance spaces and conventions of staging plays. Playwrights such as Bhasa, Kalidasa, Shudraka, Vishakhadatta and Bhavabhuti contributed in a great measure through their dramatic pieces in Sanskrit. They based their plots on sources like the epics, history, folk tales and legends. The audience was already familiar with the story. Therefore, a theatre language required a visual presentation through gestures, mime and movement. The actor was supposed to be well-versed in all the fine arts. In a way, it was a picture of total theatre. The noted German playwright and director, Brecht, evolved his theory of 'Epic Theatre' and concept of 'Alienation' precisely from these sources.

Phase II involves that practice of theatre which was based on oral traditions. It was being performed from about 1000 A.D. onwards upto 1700 A.D. Even today it continues almost in every part of India. Emergence of this kind of theatre is linked with the change of political set up in India as well as the coming into existence of different regional languages in all parts of the country. As the languages themselves were taking their birth around 1000 A.D. it was too early to expect any writing in those languages. That is why this whole period is known as folk or traditional, i.e., theatre being handed over from generation to generation through an oral tradition. Another major change also took place with this kind of traditional theatre.

The classical theatre which is based on Natya Shastra was much more sophisticated in its form and nature and totally urban-oriented whereas this traditional theatre evolved out of rural roots. Though other elements of theatre remained almost the same, i.e., use of music, mime, movement, dance and narrative elements. This later theatre was more simple, immediate and improvisational even to the extent of being contemporary. Moreover, whereas the classical theatre was almost similar in its presentation in all parts of India at a particular time, the traditional theatre took to two different kinds of presentational methods - all the folk and traditional forms in northern India are mainly vocal, i.e., singing and recitation-based like Ramlila, Rasleela, Bhand Nautanki and Wang without any complicated gestures or movements and elements of dance.

Phase III is again linked with a change in the political set up in India — this time an outside force coming from the West. The time span of about 200 years under the British rule brings the Indian theatre into direct contact with the western theatre. For the first time in India, the writing and practice of theatre is geared fully towards realistic or naturalistic presentation. It is not as if realism or naturalism was totally absent in our tradition. It was always present as also envisaged in Natya Shastra through concepts of Lokdharmi, i.e., a style of presentation

connected with day-to-day gestures and behaviour and Natyadharami, - i.e., a style more and more presentational and theatrical in nature. But the stories used were invariably from the same sources. In the modern theatre the story also changed its nature. Now it is no more woven around big heroes and gods, but has become a picture of common man.

In a way this is the complete picture of the Indian theatre from the ancient time up to the present. As we have already seen, the theatre in contemporary India is a combination of the three different phases of its evolution illustrated in its historical perspective. But it has never been professional in the true sense of the word, i.e., people have not been entirely dependant on the theatre for their livelihood right from the beginning. Though it seems that the theatre in India has been a continuous activity, yet in reality it has not been so. It has always been a part of festivals or such other occasions which are related to entertainment. At the most, theatre used to be performed between October and March - only for six months even by the so-called commercial or professional companies.

In the rest of the year, the people remained engaged either in agriculture or other vocations. This kind of set up creates a big problem for the Indian theatre. It has not yet become a part and practice of our life as in the West. Even in States like West Bengal and Maharashtra, where theatre is very prolific, none of the performers is totally devoted to the theatre. They are involved in some job or the other during daytime and only in the evenings they come to rehearse or perform. The concept of professional repertory companies in India is a recent one. How can theatre become a profession for an Indian actor and theatre worker? This is the biggest question. How can it provide him his bread and butter as well as opportunities to practise his art?

Identity

Another question relates to the identity of Indian theatre today. When the theatre was being performed in one single language like Sanskrit, it had a national identity of its own. But today the picture is completely changed. India is a vast country with 22 languages and as many different cultures. It is not like any Western country where the language and culture are one and, therefore, the theatre can be identified immediately with these elements.

In India, the concept of National Theatre has to be seen purely in regional terms. All the regions have their own language, history and culture and their theatre is also deeply rooted in those circumstances. Therefore, sometimes it becomes a problem of choosing any particular form or region. Does it give a complete picture of Indian character, culture and civilization? That is why over the last 30 to 40 years, there has been a search for its true and authentic form which may represent the aspirations of Modern India as well as a continuity of its traditions.

Changes

The exodus from the theatre to films is not a new phenomenon. But of late, television, video, film and the satellite channels have attracted the maximum number of people from the theatre to these options because of more money, glamour and market opportunities. As a result, theatre activities have suffered a severe setback in the last 15 years or so. The situation, however, has started changing slowly again. The audience appears to be fed up with the small screen. Theatre being a live and direct medium and always operating on human level with its

audience, can never die. Even after innumerable obstacles and upheavals in history, it has always emerged a winner in the end.

Different forms of Traditional Theatre

Bhand Pather, the traditional theatre form of Kashmir, is a unique combination of dance, music and acting. Satire, wit and parody are preferred for inducing laughter. In this theatre form, music is provided with surnai, nagaara and dhol. Since the actors of Bhand Pather are mainly from the farming community, the impact of their way of living, ideals and sensitivity is discernible.

Originally the theatre form **Swang**, was mainly music-based. Gradually, prose too, played its role in the dialogues. The softness of emotions, accomplishment of rasa alongwith the development of character can be seen in this theatre form. The two important styles of Swang are from Rohtak and Haathras. In the style belonging to Rohtak, the language used is Haryanvi (Bangru) and in Haathras, it is Brajbhasha.

Nautanki is usually associated with Uttar Pradesh. The most popular centres of this traditional theatre form are Kanpur, Lucknow and Haathras. The meters used in the verses are: Doha, Chaubola, Chhappai, Behar-e-tabeel. There was a time when only men acted in Nautanki but nowadays, women have also started taking part in the performances. Among those remembered with reverence is Gulab Bai of Kanpur. She gave a new dimension to this old theatre form.

Raasleela is based exclusively on Lord Krishna legends; it is believed that Nand Das wrote the initial plays based on the life of Krishna. In this theatre form the dialogues in prose combined beautifully with songs and scenes from Krishna's pranks.

Bhavai is the traditional theatre form of Gujarat. The centers of this form are Kutch and Kathiawar. The instruments used in Bhavai are: bhungal, tabla, flute, pakhaawaj, rabaab, sarangi, manjeera, etc. In Bhavai, there is a rare synthesis of devotional and romantic sentiments.

Fairs in honour of gods, or religious rituals and ceremonies have within their framework musical plays are known as **Jatra**. This form was born and nurtured in Bengal. Krishna Jatra became popular due to Chaitanya's influence. Later, however, worldly love stories too, found a place in Jatra. The earlier form of Jatra has been musical. Dialogues were added at later stage. The actors themselves describe the change of scene, the place of action, etc.

Maach is the traditional theatre form of Madhya Pradesh. The term Maach is used for the stage itself as also for the play. In this theatre form songs are given prominence in between the dialogues. The term for dialogue in this form is bol and rhyme in narration is termed vanag. The tunes of this theatre form are known as rangat.

Bhaona is a presentation of the Ankia Naat of Assam. In Bhaona cultural glimpses of Assam, Bengal Orissa, Mathura and Brindavan can be seen. The Sutradhaar, or narrator begins the story, first in Sanskrit and then in either Brajboli or Assamese.

Rajinder Nagar: 1/8-B, 2nd Floor, Apsara Arcade, Near Gate 6, Karol Bagh Metro, Delhi

Mukherjee Nagar: 103, 1st Floor, B/1-2, Ansal Building, Behind UCO Bank, Delhi-9

09650617807, 09968029039, 09717162595

www.visionias.in

©Vision IAS

Tamaasha is a traditional folk theatre form of Maharashtra. It has evolved from the folk forms such as Gondhal, Jagran and Kirtan. Unlike other theatre forms, in Tamaasha the female actress is the chief exponent of dance movements in the play. She is known as Murki. Classical music, footwork at lightning-speed, and vivid gestures make it possible to portray all the emotions through dance.

Dashavatar is the most developed theatre form of the Konkan and Goa regions. The performers personify the ten incarnations of Lord Vishnu-the god of preservation and creativity. The ten incarnations are Matsya (fish), Kurma (tortoise), Varaha (boar), Narsimha (lion-man), Vaman (dwarf), Parashuram, Rama, Krishna (or Balram), Buddha and Kalki. Apart from stylized make-up, the Dashavatar performers wear masks of wood and papier mache.

Krishnattam, folk theatre of Kerala, came into existence in the middle of 17th century A.D. under the patronage of King Manavada of Calicut. Krishnattam is a cycle of eight plays performed for eight consecutive days. The plays are Avataram, Kaliyamandana, Rasa krida, kamasavadha, Swayamvaram, Bana Yudham, Vivida Vadham, and Swargarohana. The episodes are based on the theme of Lord Krishna - his birth, childhood pranks and various deeds depicting victory of good over evil.

Mudiyettu, traditional folk theatre form of Kerala is celebrated in the month of Vrischikam (November-December). It is usually performed only in the Kali temples of Kerala, as an oblation to the Goddess. It depicts the triumph of goddess Bhadrakali over the asura Darika. The seven characters in Mudiyettu-Shiva, Narada, Darika, Danavendra, Bhadrakali, Kooli and Koimbidar (Nandikeshvara) are all heavily made-up.

Theyyam is a traditional and extremely popular folk theatre form of Kerala. The word 'Theyyam' is derived from the Sanskrit word 'Daivam' meaning God. Hence it is called God's dance. The tradition of worshipping of spirits of ancestors, folk heroes, and deities of various diseases and ailments can be traced back to ancient times in South India. Theyyam is performed by various castes to appease and worship these spirits. One of the distinguishing features of Theyyam is the colourful costume and awe-inspiring headgears (mudi) nearly 5 to 6 feet high made of arecanut splices, bamboos, leaf sheaths of arecanut and wooden planks and dyed into different strong colours using turmeric, wax and arac.

Koodiyaattam, one of the oldest traditional theatre forms of Kerala, is based on Sanskrit theatre traditions. The characters of this theatre form are: Chakyaar or actor, Naambiyaar, the instrumentalists and Naangyaar, those taking on women's roles. The Sutradhar or narrator and the Vidushak or jesters are the protagonists. It is the Vidushak alone who delivers the dialogues. Emphasis on hand gestures and eye movements makes this dance and theatre form unique.

Yakshagaana, traditional theatre form of Karnataka, is based on mythological stories and Puranas. The most popular episodes are from the Mahabharata i.e. Draupadi swayamvar, Subhadra vivah, Abhimanyu vadh, Karna-Arjun yuddh and from Ramayana i.e. Raajyaabhishek, Lav-kush Yuddh, Baali-Sugreeva yuddha and Panchavati.

Therukoothu, the most popular form of folk drama of Tamil Nadu, literally means "street play". It is mostly performed at the time of annual temple festivals of Mariamman (Rain goddess) to achieve rich harvest. At the core of the extensive repertoire of Therukoothu there is a cycle of

eight plays based on the life of Draupadi. Kattiakaran, the Sutradhara of the Therukoothu performance, gives the gist of the play to the audience and Komali entertains the audience with his buffoonery.

References:

1. Centre for cultural resource and training - <http://ccrtindia.gov.in/>
2. <http://pib.nic.in/feature/fe0399/f3003991.html>

VISION IAS

Copyright © by Vision IAS

All rights are reserved. No part of this document may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior permission of Vision IAS

Rajinder Nagar: 1/8-B, 2nd Floor, Apsara Arcade, Near Gate 6, Karol Bagh Metro, Delhi

Mukherjee Nagar: 103, 1st Floor, B/1-2, Ansal Building, Behind UCO Bank, Delhi-9

09650617807, 09968029039, 09717162595



(Supplementary Material)

Post-Independence Consolidation and Reorganization within the Country

Table of Contents

Chapter 01: Nation Building Process and its Challenges	4
A. Partition and its aftermath	4
B. Integration of Princely States	6
C. Tribal Integration	9
D. Issue of language	10
Chapter –02: From Colony to Democracy	12
A. Emergence of Electoral Politics	12
B. Dominance of Congress System:	13
Nature of Congress Dominance	13
C. Emergence of Opposition Parties	14
Chapter: 3 Economic Development	16
Economic Development and Planning	16
A. Mixed Economy Model (Socialism)	16
B. Planning and its Impact	17
C. Green Revolution	18
D. Operation Flood and Cooperatives	20
Chapter – 4	22
India's External Relations	22
A. Introduction to India's Foreign Policy:	22
Non Alignment Policy –	23
B. Relations with neighbors [Pakistan & China]	23
I. Relations with Pakistan:	24
II. Relations with China:	25
C. India's Nuclear Policy	25
Chapter–5: The crisis of Democratic Order	26
A. Emergency	26
I. Economic Issues	26
II. Tussle with Judiciary:–	26

III. Imposition of Emergency:–.....	26
IV. Impact of Emergency:–	26
V. Comparative Analysis of Emergency [Pakistan, Bangladesh, India].....	27
VI. Lessons from Emergency:.....	28
B. J.P. Movement	28
C. Naxalite Movement:.....	28
D. Communalism:–	29
1. Ayodhya Dispute:.....	29
2. Anti Sikh Riots:–	29
3. Anti-Muslim riots in Gujarat (2002).....	30
Chapter–6: Regional Discontent and its Solution.....	30
A. Basis of Regionalism:–	30
Economic Imbalances & Regionalism:–	30
Sons of Soil Doctrine:.....	31
B. Issue of J & K, Punjab.....	31
1. Issue of J & K.....	31
2. Punjab Issue	32
C. Problems with North-East Region:–	32
I. Demands for autonomy:–	33
II. Secessionist Movements:	33
Chapter 07: Reorganization of the States	34
A. Formation of Linguistic States:–	34
B. Unique cases of reorganization:–	36
I. Sikkim:.....	36
II. Goa's Liberation.....	36
C. Contemporary Reorganizations of the State:–	36
I. Chhattisgarh:–	36
II. Uttarakhand.....	36
III. Jharkhand:–	37
IV. Telengana:	37
Chapter 08: Contemporary Developments	37
A. Politics of Coalition:.....	37
B. New Economic Policy 1991	39
I. Liberalization	39
II. Privatisation:.....	40
III. Globalisation:.....	40
C. Era of ICT [Information and Communication Technology].....	40

Chapter 09: [Popular Movements].....	41
A. Introduction	41
B. Environment Movement	41
I. Chipko Movement:	41
II. Narmada Bachao Aandolan :	41
III. Silent Valley Movement.....	42
IV. Fisheries Movement:.....	42
C. Dalit Movement.....	42
D. OBC Movements:	43
E. New Farmers Movement.....	43
F. Women's Movement	44
G. Civil Democratic Movement:	44

Chapter 01: Nation Building Process and its Challenges

A. Partition and its aftermath

The initial few years of independent India were full of daunting challenges and concerns regarding national unity and territorial integrity of India. Freedom came with Partition, which resulted in large scale communal violence and displacement and unprecedented violence challenged the very idea of a secular India.

Independent India faced three kinds of challenges:

- i. The first and immediate challenge was to shape a nation that was united, yet accommodative of the diversity in our society. Due to the large landscape, different cultures with different regions and religions, variety of spoken languages, many people widely believed that a country with such amount of diversity could not remain together for long.
- ii. The second challenge was to establish democracy. India adopted representative democracy based on the parliamentary form of government. These features strived to ensure that the political competition would take place in a democratic framework. The challenge was to develop democratic practices in accordance with the constitution.
- iii. The third challenge was to ensure inclusive development and well-being of the entire society. Due to the widespread poverty, the real challenge now was to evolve effective policies for economic development and eradication of poverty.

Partition: Displacement and Rehabilitation-

On 14–15 August 1947, two nation states came into existence, because of 'partition' of the division of British India into India and Pakistan. According to the "two nation theory" advanced by the Muslim League, India consisted of two 'People' Hindus and Muslims.

Due to the forceful circumstances and several political developments in 1940's the political competition between the congress and the Muslim League and the British role led to the **decision for the creation of Pakistan**.

A very important task at hand was demarcation of boundaries. After 3rd June plan of Mountbatten a British jurist Radcliff was invited to fix the problem and to form two boundary commissions one for Bengal and one for Punjab. Four other members were also there in commission but there was a deadlock between Congress and Muslim league. On 17th August, 1947 he announced his award.

Limitation of this award:

- a) Justice Radcliff had no prior knowledge about India.
- b) He had no specialized knowledge needed for the task also.
- c) He had no advisors and experts.
- d) 6 week deadline that Radcliff had was also a limitation of this award.

It was decided to follow the principle of religious majorities which means that areas where the Muslims were in majority would make up the territory of Pakistan. The remaining was to **stay with India**.

The principle of religious majorities had entailed with it so many difficult positions:

- i. There were two areas of concentration with Muslim majority, In the West and East part of India. Hence, it was decided that the new country. Pakistan will comprise two territories, West and East Pakistan.
- ii. All the Muslims were not in favour joining Pakistan. Frontier Gandhi, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, the undisputed leader of the North West Frontier Province, staunchly opposed the two nation theory. But as Khudai khidmatgar of Abdul Ghaffar Khan boycotted the Plebiscite due to provision of limited franchise rights in that, the lone contender in the fray, the Muslim League, won the vote by default and in the end NWFP was made to merge with Pakistan.
- iii. Two Muslims majority concentrated provinces of British India, Punjab and Bengal had very large areas with non Muslims population in the majority. Eventually it was decided that these two provinces would be bifurcated according to the religious majority at the district or even lower level. The partition of these two provinces caused the prolonged trauma of Partition.

- iv. The last difficult position was of "minorities" on both the sides of the border. Minorities then on either side lived in fear and fled from their homes to save their lives from brutal violence unleashed during partition.

Consequence of Partition:

The year 1947, saw the one of the most abrupt and haphazard, tragic transfer of people that human history had ever witnessed. There were brutal killings, atrocities, rapes, on both sides of the border. The cities like Lahore, Amritsar, Kolkata (then Calcutta) got divided into "Communal Zones". In many cases women were killed by their own family members to preserve the 'family honor'. Everything was divided then from tables, chairs to government officials. It is estimated that the Partition forced about 80 lakhs people to migrate across the new border. Between five to 10 lakh people were killed in Partition related violence.

The government of India was successful in providing relief and in resettlement and rehabilitation of nearly six million refugees from Pakistan. A department of rehabilitation was created. Various refugee camps were set up some notable being camp at Kurukshetra and Kolwada camp at Bombay. Many of the Hindus and Sikhs fleeing West Punjab were directed by the government of India to refugee camp in Kurukshetra. A vast city of tents had grown up on the plain, to house waves of migrants, sometimes up to 20,000 a day. Kurukshetra was the largest of the nearly 200 camps set up to house refugees from West Punjab. While there were five refugee camps in Mumbai for refugees from Sindh region.

Some refugees had arrived before the date of transfer of power; among them prescient businessmen who had sold their properties in advance and migrated with the proceeds. However, the vast majority came after 15 August 1947, and with little more than the clothes on their skin. These were the farmers who had 'stayed behind till the last moment, firmly resolved to remain in Pakistan if they could be assured of an honourable living'. But when, in September and October, the violence escalated in the Punjab, they had to abandon that idea. The Hindus and Sikhs who were lucky enough to escape the mobs fled to India by road, rail, sea and on foot.

Camps such as Kurukshetra were but a holding operation. The refugees had to be found permanent homes and productive work. Thus refugees required land for permanent settlement. As it happened, a massive migration had also taken place the other way, into Pakistan from India. Thus, the first place to resettle the refugees was on land vacated by Muslims in the eastern part of the Punjab. If the transfer of populations had been 'the greatest mass migration' in history now commenced 'the biggest land resettlement operation in the world'. As against 2.7 million hectares abandoned by Hindus and Sikhs in West Punjab, there were only 1.9 million hectares left behind by Muslims in East Punjab. The shortfall was made more acute by the fact that the areas in the west of the province had richer soils, and were more abundantly irrigated. To begin with, each family of refugee farmers was given an allotment of four hectares, regardless of its holding in Pakistan. Loans were advanced to buy seed and equipment. While cultivation commenced on these temporary plots, applications were invited for permanent allotments.

Each family was asked to submit evidence of how much land it had left behind. Applications were received from 10 March 1948; within a month, more than half a million claims had been filed. These claims were then verified in open assemblies consisting of other migrants from the same village. As each claim was read out by a government official, the assembly approved, amended, or rejected it.

Expectedly, many refugees were at first prone to exaggeration. However, every false claim was punished, sometimes by a reduction in the land allotted, in extreme cases by a brief spell of imprisonment. This acted as a deterrent; still, an officer closely associated with the process estimated that there was an overall inflation of about 25 per cent. To collect, collate, verify and act upon the claims a Rehabilitation Secretariat was set up in Jullundur. At its peak there were about 7,000 officials working there; they came to constitute a kind of refugee city of their own. The bulk of these officials were accommodated in tents, the camp serviced by makeshift lights and latrines and with temporary shrines, temples for Hindus and gurdwaras for Sikhs.

Leading the operations was the director general of rehabilitation, **Sardar Tarlok Singh of the Indian Civil Service**. A graduate of the London School of Economics, Tarlok Singh used his academic training to good effect, making two innovations that proved critical in the successful settlement of the refugees.

Thus the task of rehabilitation took time to accomplish and by 1951, the problem of the rehabilitation of the refugees from West Pakistan had been fully tackled.

The rehabilitation on East took years and it was more difficult because of **constant exodus of Hindus** from East Bengal continued for years.

After handling this worst nightmare of Partition, Indian leadership had strived to consolidate India from within and **look after its internal affairs**.

Plan of consolidation:

The broad strategy for national consolidation after 1947 involved :

1. Territorial integration,
2. Mobilization of political and institutional resources
3. Economic development, and
4. Adoption of policies which would promote social justice, remove glaring inequalities and provide equal opportunities.

B. Integration of Princely States

Unifying post partition India and the princely states under one administration was perhaps the most important task faced by then political leadership. In colonial India, nearly 40% of the territory was occupied by five hundred sixty five small and large states ruled by princes who enjoyed varying degrees of autonomy under the system of British Paramountcy. British power protected them from their own people as also from external aggression so long as they did British bidding.

As the British left, many of 565 princely states, began to dream of independence. They had claimed that the paramountcy could not be transferred to the new states of India and Pakistan. The ambitions were fuelled by the then British PM Clement Attlee announcement on Feb 20, 1947 that "His Majesty's Government does not intend to hand over their powers and obligations under paramountcy to any government of British India".

With great skill and masterful diplomacy and using both persuasion and pressure, Sardar Patel succeeded in integrating the hundreds of princely states. Few princely states joined Constituent Assembly with wisdom & realism, patriotism, but other princely states still stayed away from joining it. Princely states of Travancore, Bhopal, and Hyderabad publicly announced their desire to claim an independent status.

On June 27, 1947, Sardar Patel assumed additional charge of the newly created **states department** with V.P. Menon as its **Secretary**.

The government's approach was **guided by three considerations** :

- i. The people of most of the princely states clearly wanted to become part of the **Indian Union**.
- ii. The government was prepared to be flexible in giving autonomy to some regions. The idea was to accommodate plurality & adopt a flexible approach in dealing with the demands of the regions.
- iii. In the back drop of Partition, the integration and consolidation of the territorial boundaries of the nation had assumed supreme importance.

Patel threw a series of lunch parties where he requested his princely guests to help the Congress in framing the new constitution for India. Patel's first step was to appeal to the princes whose territories fell inside India to accede to the Indian Union in three subjects which affected the common interests of the country, namely, foreign relations, defence and communications. He also gave an implied threat he would not be able to restrain the impatient people post August 15, 1947. States were issued an appeal with an implied threat of anarchy and chaos.

Next step of Patel was to convince Mountbatten to bat for India. 25th July speech of Mountbatten to the Chamber of Princes finally persuaded the Princes. This speech ranked as the most significant Act of Mountbatten in India. After this, virtually all the states except 3 signaled the instrument of accession.

One was **Travancore** under the Maharaja of Travancore **Chithira Thirunal** but the real ruler was its Diwan C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer. There was an attack on C. P. Aiyer, and after that it was Maharaja of Travancore which wired the government that they are ready for accession.

Jodhpur- A young hindu king was there, it's accession was a serious issue due to its proximity to border. Jinnah also persuaded him but after tremendous pressure from Patel, finally he signed the Instrument of Assession.

Bhopal- Mainly hindu population and ruler was Habibullah Khan supported by Jinnah. There was a revolt against the Bhopal ruler, he faced pressure from Patel and communist population and finally he signed the Instrument of Accession.

Thus before August 15, 1947 peaceful negotiations has brought almost all states whose territories were contiguous to the new boundaries of India, into the Indian Union. The rulers of most of the states signed a document called the "**Instrument of Accession**" which meant that their state agreed to become a part of the Union of India.

Accession of the princely states of Junagadh, Hyderabad, Kashmir and Manipur proved more **difficult than the rest**.

- i. Junagadh was a small state on the coast of Saurashtra surrounded by Indian Territory without any geographical contiguity with Pakistan. Yet it's Nawab Mohabbat Khan announced accession of his state to Pak on August 15, 1947 even though majority of the people, overwhelmingly **Hindu, desired to join India**.

People of the state organized a popular movement and a group of Junagarhi people forced the Nawab to flee and formed **Aarze Hukumat** (a temporary govt. in exile) it was led by Samal Das Gandhi. The Dewan of Junagadh, **Shah Nawaz Bhutto**, the father of the more famous Zulfikar Ali Bhutto now decided to invite the Government of India to intervene. Indian troops marched into the state. Later, a **plebiscite** was held in state in Feb 1948, which favoured joining India.

- ii. In the state of Kashmir, The Hindu ruler of the state Hari Singh, did not wish to merge with India and tried to negotiate with Indian and Pak to have an independent status for his state. Since majority population of the state was Muslim, the Pakistani leaders thought the Kashmir region '**belonged**' to them.

The popular movement in the state, led by **Sheikh Abdullah** of the National Conference, wanted to get rid of the Maharaja, but was against joining Pak. He formed an organization called National conference which was a secular organization & had a long association with the congress. Abdullah asked Dogra dynasty to quit and hand over the power to people.

On 15th August Harisingh offered standstill agreement with both countries which would allow the free movement of people and goods. Pakistan signed the agreement but India didn't and followed the policy of wait and watch. Pakistan became impatient and started violating standstill agreement. Mehar Chand Mahajan then prime minister of Kashmir complained this to British government for economic blockade and breach of standstill agreement. On 22nd October several pathan tribesmen unofficially led by Pakistan's army officer invaded the state from north and reached up to Baramullah, were further advancing towards Srinagar.

On 24th October Hari Singh demanded military assistance from Indian government. Mountbatten pointed out that under international law India can send its troops only after the state sign a formal instrument of accession. V. P. Menon went to Kashmir and on 26th October Maharaja signed instrument of accession and also agreed upon Abdullah being appointed as the Head of the state administration. 27th Oct. morning nearly 100 planes airlifted men and weapons to Srinagar. Pakistan army left the main valley region but continue to occupy a large chunk of territory of gilgit, baltistan region. National conference volunteers worked with the Indian Army to drive out the Pakistan infiltrators. Sheikh Abdullah became the Prime Minister. In November 1947 Mountbatten flew to Lahore on a peace mission. There took place a meeting with Jinnah but no agreement could be made. Jinnah described that Kashmir accession is based upon fraud and violence. Nehru wrote to Harisingh that he wants a final solution to Kashmir.

On 1st Jan 1948 India decided to take the Kashmir issue to UN and it is said that it was on the advice of Pakistan. Security Council was with Pakistan; both USA and Britain supported Pak and even Nehru accepted that they were playing a dirty game. Britain's Representative Phillip baker vigorously supported Pakistan's position.

Finally after a security council resolution there was a cease fire from 1st Jan 1948 and India and pak agreed upon ceasefire line as LoC. After some days in 1951 constituent assembly met in Srinagar to formulate a constitution for state and constituent assembly of state also ratified the accession in 1954.

In 1951 UN passed a resolution for a referendum under UN supervision after Pak has withdrawn its troops. This resolution remains ineffective because Pakistan never withdrew its force from what is called Azad Kashmir or Pak occupied Kashmir.

- iii. Hyderabad the largest of the princely states and it was surrounded entirely by Indian Territory. Some parts of the old Hyderabad states are today parts of Maharashtra, Karnataka, and Andhra Pradesh. Its ruler was called "Nizam" and one the richest men of his time. Rule of the Nizam was unjust and tyrannical and he had **Majlis-e-Ittehad-ul Muslimeen** or **MIM** (Council of the Union of Muslims) which was a Muslim political party to safeguard the interest of Muslims in India. The MIM advocated the set up of a Muslim dominion rather than integration with India.

Nizam Mir Osman Ali wanted an independent status for Hyderabad. Hence, he entered into the standstill agreement with India in November 1947 for a year while negotiations with the Indian Government were going on.

People's movement against Nizam's rule gathered momentum. Particularly the peasants of Telangana region, and women who had seen the worst of this oppression joined the movements in great numbers. Hyderabad town was the nerve centre of this movement, and the communists and Hyderabad congress were at the forefront.

The Nizam retaliated on popular movement by unleashing a para-military force, **Razakars** on the people. In total up to 150,000 Razakar soldiers were mobilized to fight against the Indian Union and for the independence of the Hyderabad State against Indian integration. The atrocities & communal nature of the Razakars knew no bounds. The murdered, maimed, raped and looted, targeting particularly the non-Muslims. The central government had to order the army to tackle the situation. On 13th September 1948, Indian army under **operation Polo** (Code name of the Hyderabad Police Action) invaded the **Hyderabad state** & overthrew its **Nizam**, annexing the state merged it **into the Indian Union**. After the integration of the Hyderabad state with India, the MIM was banned in 1948. The Razakar leader **Qasim Rizvi** was jailed from 1948 to 1957, and then he was released on the condition to go to Pakistan, where he was granted asylum. Nizam was rewarded for final submission and was made Rajpramukh.

- iv. Maharaja of **Manipur** Bodhchandra Singh signed the instrument of Accession with the Indian government on the assurance that the internal autonomy of Manipur would be maintained.

Under the pressure of **public view**, the Maharaja held elections in Manipur in June 1948 & thus the state became a constitutional monarchy. Manipur was the first part of India to hold an election based on universal adult franchise.

There were some differences over Manipur's merger with India. The state congress was in favour, but other political parties opposed this view. The government of India succeeded in pressurizing the Maharaja into signing a Merger Agreement in September 1949, without consulting the popularly elected Legislative Assembly of Manipur. The caused a lot anger and resentment in Manipur, the consequences of which are still being felt.

Smaller states were either merged with the neighboring states or merged together to 'form centrally administered areas'. A large number of states were consolidated into five new unions, forming Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan, Patiala and East Punjab states Union [PEPSU], Saurashtra and Travancore-Cochin. Mysore, Hyderabad and Jammu and Kashmir retained their original form as separate states of the Union.

In return of their surrender of all power and authority, the rulers of major states were given privy purses guaranteed by the constitution. The rulers were allowed succession to the gaddi and retained certain privileges such as keeping their **titles**, flying their **personal flags** and gun **salutes on ceremonial** occasions.

After integration of princely states two trouble spots were French settlement and Portuguese settlements. After prolonged negotiation Pondicherry and other French possessions were handed over to India in 1954.

Portuguese were not ready to handover their areas. Its Nato allies supported Portugal's position and India supported peaceful means. There was a independence movement in Goa, India was patient, but in 1961 when that popular movement demanded support Indian troops marched in Goa in under **Operation Vijay** and Portuguese did surrendered without any fight.

C. Tribal Integration

The uphill task of integrating the tribal population into the mainstream was extremely difficult given the diverse conditions under which they dwell in different parts of the country, having **different cultures** and **speaking varied** languages.

- Tribal population was spread all over India, their greatest concentration lies in Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, North-eastern India, West Bengal, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Rajasthan. Except **the North-East**, they constitute minorities in their **home states**. Residing mostly in the hills and forest areas, in colonial India they lived in relative isolation and **their tradition, habits, cultures** and ways of life were exceptionally **different** with that of their non-tribal neighbours.
- Radical transformation and penetration of market forces integrated the isolated tribal people with colonial power. A large number of money lenders, traders, revenue farmers and other middlemen and petty officials invaded the tribal areas and disrupted the tribal's traditional way of life.
- To conserve forests and to facilitate their commercial exploitation, the colonial authorities brought large tracts of forest lands under forest laws which forbade shifting cultivation and put severe restrictions on the tribals' use of forest and their access to forest products.
- Loss of land, indebtedness, exploitation by middlemen, denial of access to forests and forest products, oppression and extortion by policemen, forest officials and other government officials **was to lead** a series of tribal uprisings in the nineteenth & twentieth centuries, e.g. **Santhal & Munda rebellion**.

Roots of India Tribal Policy:

The preservation of the tribal people's rich social and cultural heritage lay at the heart of Government of India's policy of tribal integration.

Jawaharlal Nehru was the main influence in shaping government's attitude towards the tribals. Nehru stood for economic and social development of the tribal people in multifarious ways, especially in the fields of communications, modern medical facilities, agriculture and education.

Nehru approach was based on the nationalist policy towards tribals since the 1920s when Gandhiji set up ashrams in the tribal areas and promoted constructive work. There were certain broad guidelines laid down by Nehru, with the help of **Verrier Elwin [British Anthropologist]** which was called as "**Tribal Panchsheel**". They are:

1. People should develop along the line of their own genius & we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture.
2. Tribals rights to land and forest should be respected.
3. We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will no doubt, be needed, especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.
4. We should not over administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through & not in **rivalry** to, their own **social & cultural institutions**.
5. We should judge results not by **statistics** or the amount of money spent, but by the **quality of** human character **that is involved**.

To give shape to government's policy, a beginning was made in the constitution itself.

under article 46 – the state should promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the tribal people & should protect them from social injustice & all forms of exploitation.

Note : [There are many special power related to tribal areas are given to state governors by the constitution, for those articles please refer **Indian Polity by Laxmikant**]

In spite of the constitutional safeguards and the efforts of central & state governments, the tribals progress and welfare has been very slow and even dismal. Except the North East, the tribals continue to be poor, indebted, landless and often unemployed. The problem lies in weak execution of even well intentioned measures.

Reasons for dismal performance of Tribal Policy:

- i. Quite often the funds allocated for tribal welfare are not spent or are spent without corresponding results and sometimes funds are even misappropriated. The watch dog of tribal interests, Tribal Advisory Council has not functioned effectively.
- ii. Administrative personnel are either ill trained or prejudiced against tribals.
- iii. A major handicap from which tribals suffer is denial of justice, often because of their unfamiliarity with the laws & the legal system.
- iv. Violation of strict land transfer laws for tribals, leading to alienation of land & eviction of tribals.
- v. Rapid extension of mines & industries has worsened their conditions in many areas.
- vi. The progress of education among the tribal people has been disappointingly slow.
- vii. Exploitations from the forest officials and unsympathetic attitude of officials.

Positive Development happened due to state's Initiative:

Certain positive developments in the tribal sphere have occurred since 1947. Legislation to protect tribal rights & interests, activities of the tribal welfare departments, Panchayati Raj, spread of literacy and education, reservations in government services and in Parliament, state assemblies, reservation in higher education institutions, repeated elections have led to increasing confidence among the tribal people & greater political participation by them, at least by growing **middle** classes & intelligentsia among them in the **constitutional political** processes.

Even though there are certain regions where reached the benefits of positive discrimination by the states, certain regions are still lagging behind. Protest movements have sprung up among tribals out of their frustration with the lack of development & welfare. Some of the protest movements have taken to violence leading to strong state action against them.

D. Issue of language

The language problem was the most divisive issue in the first twenty years of independent India.

Linguistic identity during first 20 years after independence had become a strong force in all societies. Due to diversity in languages, this language issue became more difficult to tackle.

The problem posed to national consolidation by linguistic diversity has taken two major forms :

1. The dispute over official language of the union.
2. The **linguistic reorganization of the states** [this issue will be dealt **separately not in this chapter**]

The Official Language:

- Opposition to Hindi as a national languages tended to create conflict between Hindi speaking and **non-Hindi speaking regions of the country**.
- The issue of a national language was resolved when the constitution-makers virtually **accepted all the major** languages as "**languages of India**".
- Being a foreign language Gandhi opposed the idea that English would be an **all India medium of communications in free India**.
- Sharp differences marked the initial debates as the problem of the official language was highly political from the beginning.

- Hindi was chosen over **Hindustani [written in Devanagari or Urdu script]** to be the **official** language of India & but the national **language**.
- The issue of the time-frame for a shift from English to Hindi produced a divide between Hindi & non Hindi areas. Proponents of Hindi wanted immediate switch over, while non Hindi areas advocated retention of English for a long if not **indefinite period**.
- Nehru was in favour of making Hindi the official **language**, but he also favoured English to be **continuing** as an **additional official language**.
- The constitution provided that Hindi in Devanagari script with international numerals would be India's official language. English was to continue for use in all official purposes till 1965, when it would be replaced by Hindi in phased manner. However, Parliament would have the power to provide for the use of English for specified purposes even after 1965.
- The constitution laid upon the government the duty to promote the spread and development of Hindi & provides for the appointment of Commission & a Joint Parliamentary Committee to review the progress in the respect. The state legislatures were to divide the matter of official language at state level, though the official language of the Union would serve as **the language of communication between the states and the centre & between one state & another**.
- In 1956, the report of the official language commission set up in 1955 in terms of a **constitutional provision**, recommended that Hindi should start progressively replacing English in various functions of the central government with effective change taking place in 1965. Two members of commission, one each from West Bengal & Tamil Nadu, dissented this while accusing other members for pro-Hindi Bias. JPC [Joint Parliamentary Committee] reviewed the report to implement the recommendations of JPC, President issued an order in April 1960 stating that after 1965 Hindi would be the Principal official language, but English would continue without any **restriction as the associate official language**. To promote Hindi, according to President's directive, central government took a series of steps to promote Hindi. These includes the setting up of central Hindi Directorate, publication of standards works in Hindi or in Hindi translation in various fields, compulsory training of central government employees in Hindi and translation of major text of law into Hindi & promotion of their use by the courts.
- To allay the fear of non Hindi speakers Nehru in the Parliament in 1959, assured them that English would continue as alternate language as long as the people require it. In 1963, official languages Act was passed. The **object of the Act**, was to remove a restriction which had been placed by the constitution on the use of English after a **certain dates namely 1965**.
- Because of ambiguity in Official Languages Act due to the word "**may**" instead of "**shall**", they **criticized** it.
- Now, many non Hindi leaders in protest changed their line of approach to the problem of the official language, while initially they had demanded a slowing **down of the replacement** of English, now they shifted their stand and demanded that there **should be no deadline fixed for the changeover**.
- There was immense amount of protests in Tamil Nadu, some students burnt themselves, Two Tamil Ministers in Union Cabinet, C. Subramaniam & Alagesan **resigned**, 60 people died **due to police firing during agitation**.
- Later when Indira Gandhi became PM in 1966, in 1967, she moved a amendment to **the 1963 official Languages Act**. The amendment was passed with thumping majority.

Features of Amended Act:

1. The Act put to rest all the ambiguities regarding Nehru's assurance in 1959. It provided the use of English as an **associate language** in addition to Hindi for the official work at the centre & for communication between the centre and non Hindi states would continue as long as non Hindi states wanted it.
2. Indefinite policy of bilingualism was adopted.
3. The states were to adopt a three language formula that is study of a modern Indian language, preferably one of the Southern languages, apart from Hindi and English in the Hindi speaking areas and of Hindi along with the regional languages and English in the non-Hindi speaking areas;
4. The Parliament adopted a policy resolution laying down that the public service exams were to be conducted in **Hindi & English** & in all the regional **languages** with the provision that the **candidates** should have **additional knowledge of Hindi or English**.

The Government of India took another important step on **language** in July 1967. On the basis of the report of the education commission in 1966 it declared that **Indian languages would ultimately become the medium of education in all subjects at the University level**, though the **time from for the changeover would be decided by each university to suit its convenience**.

Chapter –02: From Colony to Democracy

A. Emergence of Electoral Politics

Despite the unprecedented illiterate population, diversities, poor economic condition the national leadership were not in big quandary regarding adoption of democratic institutions to consolidate India. Faced with such serious challenges, other leaders from different countries resisted democracy as a form of governance. According to the leaders of different countries who gained freedom from colonialism, their priority was national unity, which will not be sustained with democracy as it would bring differences and conflicts. Hence, we have seen lots of non-democratic regime in newly independent countries. While competition and power are the two most visible **things about politics**, the intention of **political activity** should be deciding and pursuing public interest. This is the route our leaders **decided to pursue**.

After adoption of constitution on January 26, 1950, It was necessary to install the first democratically elected government of the country. The election commission of India was set up in January 1950 with a constitutional provision to conduct free and fair elections. Sukumar Sen became the first Chief Election Commissioner [then ECI was single member body, unlike today's multi member body].

India has adopted universal adult franchise model of democracy where any person with prescribed condition of age, could vote without any form of discriminations. Election commission soon realized that it was an uphill task to conduct a free and fair election in a country of India's size. Holding an election required delimitation or drawing the boundaries of electoral rolls. Election commission faced difficult situation. Nearly 40 lakh woman registered themselves as wife or daughter of **somebody** rather registering themselves by their names. The election commission refused to **accept these entries** and ordered a **revision if possible and deletion if necessary**.

Preparing for the first general election was a huge exercise. No election on this scale had ever been conducted in the world before. At that time there were 17 crores eligible voters, who had to elect about 489 MPs of Lok Sabha and 3200 MLA of state assemblies. Only 15% of these eligible voters were literate. Hence Election Commission had sought some special method of voting, like the candidates were to be **identified by symbols**, assigned to each major party and independent candidates, painted on the ballot papers in the box assigned to a particular candidate and ballot was secret.

Election Commission trained over 3 lakhs officers and polling staff to conduct the election. Democracy took a giant step forward with the first elections were the biggest experiment in democracy anywhere in the world. Many people were skeptical about the democratic elections being conducted in the caste ridden, multi religious, illiterate and backward society like India.

Over 224000 polling booths, one for almost every 1000 voters were constructed and equipped with over 2.5 million steel ballot boxes one box for every candidate. Nearly 620,000,000 ballot papers were printed. Whoever got the plurality or the largest number of votes would get elected.

In all, candidates of over fourteen national and sixty three regional or local parties and a large number of independents contested the elections. Nearly 17500 candidates in all stood for the seats to the Lok Sabha and the state legislatures. The elections were spread out over nearly four months from Oct 25, 1951 to Feb 21, 1952 [Later this period was reduced to nineteen days in 1957 and 07 to 10 days in subsequent elections. Suitable conditions were created for free participation of opposition parties in elections including Jan Sangh & communist party of India (CPI). Nehru vigorously campaigned for the congress. He made communalism the central issue of his campaign, due to the basic struggle at that time between secular and communal forces on the background of

partition inflicted communal violence and riots. The elections were conducted in a fair, free, impartial and orderly manner with very little violence.

People's response to the new political order was tremendous. They participated in the polls with enough knowledge that their vote was a prized possession. At certain places, people treated polling as a festival wearing festive clothes, women wearing their jewellery. Despite higher percentage of poverty and illiteracy, the number of invalid votes cast was as low as 0.3% to 0.4%. A remarkable feature was the wide participation of women: at least 40% of women eligible to vote did so. Thus, the faith of the leadership in the people was fully justified. When the elections results were declared, it was realised that nearly 46% of the eligible voters had cast their vote.

There were many political parties which had participated in country's first general elections and state assemblies elections in free India. Starting from the Indian National Congress to Socialist Party, Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party, Communist and allies, Jan Singh, Hindu Mahasabha, RRP [Ram Rajya Parishad] other local parties and independents. The congress had emerged as the single largest party by winning 364 seats with 45% of total polled votes for Lok Sabha. The congress formed all the government in all the states and at the centre too. It did not get a majority on its own in four states—Madras, Travancore-Cochin, Orissa, PEPSU but formed governments even there with the help of independents and smaller local parties which then merged with it. The communist performance was big surprise and it emerged as the second largest group in the Lok Sabha. Princes and big landlords still wielded a great deal of influence in some parts of the country. Their party Gantantra Parishad won 31 seats in Orissa Assembly. Despite the numerically dominant position of the congress, the opposition was quite effective in parliament. Other forms of political participation such as trade unions, Kishan Sabha, strikes, hartals, bands and demonstrations were available to the middle classes, organized working class and sections of the rich and middle class peasantry. Elections were the main form of direct political participation for the vast mass of rural and urban poor.

After 1952, during the Nehru years, two other general elections were held for the Lok Sabha and state assemblies in 1957 & 1962. Voter's turnout improved in 1957 to 47% and in 1962 to 54%. In both the elections, the congress again emerged as a single largest party and formed government at the centre and at states level. However, In 1957, the communist were able to form a government in Kerala, which was the first democratically elects communist government anywhere in the world.

The fair and peaceful conduct of the polls was an indication that the democratic system and institutions, a legacy of the national movement were beginning to take root. The successful conduct of the polls was one of the reasons why India and Nehru, came to be admired abroad, especially in the ex-colonial countries.

Political leadership used elections both to promote national consolidation and to legitimize its policies of integration. Ashok Mehta said, "The parliament acted as a great unifier of the nation".

B. Dominance of Congress System:

As we have discussed about emergence of electoral politics, the congress party achieved great success in country's first general elections. Here we will discuss how it secured such success and further will inquire into nature of such congress dominance.

In the initial three general elections, the congress gained overwhelming majority. The congress won three out of every four seats but it did not manage to win half the total votes polled. In 1952, for example the congress obtains 45% of the total votes, but it manages to win 74% of the seats. In the first general elections, out of 489 seats of Lok Sabha, the congress had won 364 seats. In the next two general elections of 1957 and 1962 respectively, it had secured 371 and 361 seats out of total 494. It had also formed government at the state level throughout the country except few occasions.

Nature of Congress Dominance

India is not the only exception to have experienced the dominance of one party. We can see example of 'one party dominance' in other parts of the world as well. In other countries, we have seen that there was compromise with democratic values and norms whereas India upheld those values and norms. In some countries like China, Cuba and Syria the constitution allows only a single party to rule the country. Some others like

Myanmar, Belarus, Egypt and Eritrea were effectively one party states due to legal and military measure. Until a few years ago, Mexico, South Korea and Taiwan were also effectively one party dominant states.

The congress had reached the fruits of their diligent labor of their freedom struggle movement in ensuring post independence general elections. It had inherited the legacy of Indian National Congress Movements and their stalwart leaders. So, by default, due to their strong organizational network of freedom movement, throughout the country, it reached out to the masses instantly and connected with masses well. It was puerile to imagine other political parties organizing themselves in such a short time and achieving the faith of the masses.

During the freedom struggle movement, INC adopted inclusive approach and accepted membership of all strata of the society. After independence, the congress maintained the same characteristics. The congress also remained sensitive to and functioned as the medium for the reconciliation, accommodation and adjustment of the diverse and divergent class, sectional and regional interests.

The congress was an ideological coalition. It accommodated the revolutionary and pacifist, conservative and radical, extremist and moderate and the right, left and all shades of the centre. The coalitional nature of the congress party tolerated and encouraged various factions and instead of being a weakness, internal factionalism became the strength of the congress. The system of factions functioned as balancing mechanism within the ruling party.

In the first decade of electoral competition, the congress acted both as the ruling party as well as the opposition. Hence, noted political scientist, Mr. Rajni Kothari termed this period of Indian Politics as "The Congress system".

C. Emergence of Opposition Parties

Due to the great performance of the congress party, all opposition parties achieved only a token representation in the Lok Sabha and State assemblies during the "congress system", period. Yet these oppositions played a key role in maintaining the democratic character of the system. The opposition parties offered a sustained and principle criticism of the parties and policies of the congress of the practices and policies of the congress party. By keeping democratic political alternative alive, the opposition parties prevented the resentment with the system from turning into anti-democratic.

In the beginning of true sense of democracy in India, there was high respect between the congress and opposition leaders. There was induction of opposition leaders in the interim government before independence and even in the post independence government, opposition leaders like Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Shyama Prasad Mukherjee(Jan Jabha) were in the Nehru's Cabinet.

The positive rapport between the congress and opposition leaders gradually declined when these parties in intense competition of achieving power.

As the ability of congress to accommodate all interests and all aspirants for political hour steadily declined, other political parties started gaining greater significance. Thus, the congress dominance constitutes only one phase in the country's politics.

Now, we will discuss the major political parties during the "congress system" period.

Socialist party

- The foundation of the socialist party laid before independence when some leaders within the congress party has sought more radical and egalitarian congress. So, they formed the Congress Socialist Party (CSP) in 1934.
- Later after independence, the congress party had changed the rule regarding dual membership and barred the C.S.P members with congress's membership. This situation compelled CSP leaders to form separate Socialist Party in 1948.
- The socialists believed in the ideology of democratic socialism which distinguished them both from the congress and the communists.
- Socialist party leaders criticized congress for favouring capitalists and landlord and ignoring teaming masses like workers, peasants.

- Socialist party was in big dilemma when the congress party in 1955 declared its goal to be the socialist pattern of society. In such scenario, their leader Ashok Mehta offered limited cooperation with the congress.
- Many faction emerged from the split and union of the socialist party viz. Kisan Mazdoor Praja party, the praja socialist party, Samyukta Socialist Party
- Jayprakash Narayan, Rammanohar Lohiya, Achyut patwardhan, Ashok Mehta, Acharya Narendra Dev, S.M. Joshi were stalwart leaders of the socialist party.
- In the contemporary times, the Samajwadi party, the Rashtriya Janta Dal (RJD), Janta Dal (United), Janta Dal (Secular) trace their origins to the socialist party

Bhartiya Jan Sangh (BJS)

- BJS was formed in 1951 by Shyama Prasad Mukharjee and trace its roots with R.S.S (Rashtriya Sawyamsevek Singh) and the Hindu Mahasabha before independence.
- The BJS emphasised the idea of one country, one culture and one notion and believes that the country could become modern, progressive and strong on the basis of Indian culture and traditions.
- BJS leaders were Shyama Prasad Mukharjee, Deen Dayal Upadhyaya (He initiated the concept of integral humanism), and Balraj Madhok.
- BJS performed very party in almost all the Lok Sabha Election.
- In the contemporary times, the Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP) traces its roots to B.J.S

The communist party of India

Taking inspiration from the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, there emerged lots of communist group advocating socialism is the solution to the problems affecting the nation in 1920's.

- The communists worked mainly within the congress fold, but they had separated themselves from the congress when they supported the British in WW-II.
- It had well organized dedicated cadre and healthy machinery to run political party.
- The communist believed in violent uprising, as they thought transfer of power was not genuine. Very few people believed in their ideology and they got crushed by the armed force. They later abandoned violent means and participated in general elections and emerged as second largest opposition party.
- The party's support was more concentrated in Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Bihar, and Kerala.
- Their stalwart leaders included A.K. Gopalan, S.A. Dange, E.M.S. Namboodiripad, P.C. Joshi, Ajay Ghosh and P. Sundarrrya.
- The CPI was spilt up in 1964 and the pro-china faction formed the CPI (Marxist).
- Now, the base of both has shrunk a lot and their presence concentrates in very few states of the country.

Swatantra Party

- The swatantra party was formed in August 1959 after Nagpur resolution of the congress which called for land ceilings, takeover of food grain trade by the state, adoption of cooperative forming. They didn't believe this resolution.
- The party believed lesser involvement of the government in economy. It opposed the development strategy of state intervention in economy, central planning, nationalization, Public sector. They opposed progressive tax regime, demanded dismantling of license Raj. It was critical of non-alignment policy and friendly relations of India with the Soviet Union and advocated closer ties with the U.S.A.
- The industrialist and big landlords had supported this party.
- This party has a very limited influence, lacked dedicated cadres, so it didn't perform well.
- The stalwart of party were C. Rajagopalachari, K.M. Munshi, N.G. Ranga and Minoo Masani.

Chapter: 3 Economic Development

Economic Development and Planning

A. Mixed Economy Model (Socialism)

Post Independence, apart from extreme poverty, illiteracy, a ruined agriculture and industry, the structural distortions created by colonialism in Indian economy and society made the future transition to self sustained growth much more difficult.

Ensuring well being and economic development were the important challenges for the Indian leadership and to pursue these goals, they had two model of economic development, the liberal – capitalist model followed in U.S.A. and Europe, another was the socialist model followed in U.S.S.R. During the debate of model of economic development, Almost everyone agreed that the development of India means economic growth and social and economic justice. Hence very few people supported the American style of capitalist development. There were many who got impressed by the Soviet model of development.

India had to abandon the colonial style of functioning for commercial gains only; and strive for poverty alleviation and social-economic redistribution was primary responsibility of the then government. Therefore India adopted the mixed model of economic development, which has features of both the capitalist and socialist models.

The things which helped Indian economy to revive itself after years of exploitation:

1. There was a mature indigenous entrepreneurial class (Birlas, Tatas, Singhanias, Dalmia-Jains) that developed an independent economic base which was an asset for post independence planned development.
2. Wider societal consensus on the nature and path of development. Everyone from the staunch Gandhian to the Socialists, the capitalists as well as the communists were more or less agreed on following agenda:
 - a. Multi pronged strategy of economic development based on self reliance.
 - b. Rapid industrialization based on import-substitution including capital goods industries.
 - c. Prevention of imperialist or foreign capital domination.
 - d. Land reforms involving tenancy reforms.
 - e. Abolition of Zamindari system.
 - f. Introduction of cooperatives especially of service cooperatives like marketing, credit, etc.

Note: What are the Leftists and Rightist Party?

Leftist: refers to those who are in favour of the poor, down trodden sections and support government policies for the benefit of these sections.

Rightist: refers to those who believe that free competition and market economy alone to ensure progress and that the government should not unnecessarily intervene in the economy]

Why India completely rejected the capitalist style of Modernization?

During that era, it was common for people to refer 'West' as the standard for measuring development. Development meant becoming more and more modern was like industrialised countries of the West. India rejected such model because majority of the people were illiterate and to become modern, it was required the breakdown of traditional social structures which was highly impossible. Modernisation was also associated with the ideas of growth, material progress and scientific rationality, but due to lack of resources and education right away it was not possible in India which was fully dyed in the wool of caste based mentality.

Indian Parliament in December 1954 accepted ' the socialist pattern of society as the objective of social and economic policy. In fact the model projected was of a "mixed economy" where the public and the private sectors were not only to co-exist but where to be complementary to each other and the private sector was to be encouraged to grow with as much freedom as possible within the broad objectives of the national plan.

B. Planning and its Impact

There was consensus on one point that 'the government' should plan for the development, not the private sector. In fact the idea of planning as a process of rebuilding economy earned a good deal of public support in the 1940's and 1950's all over in the world. The experience of great depression in Europe, the inter-war reconstruction of Japan and Germany, most of all spectacular economic growth against heavy odds in the Soviet Union in the 1930s and 1940s contributed to this consensus.

Generally, it is assumed that the big business entrepreneurs are averse to the idea of planning. Contrary to this, a section of big industrialists came together in 1944 and drafted a joint proposal for setting up a planned economy in the country. It was called the Bombay Plan.

After the Independence, the Planning Commission was set up in March 1950 by a simple resolution of the Government of India. It has an advisory role and its recommendation become effective only when the Union cabinet approves these. The scope of the resolution by which **Planning Commission was formed:**

1. Every individual should have the right to an adequate means of livelihood.
2. Material resources of community their ownership and control should served the common good.
3. Economic system should operate in such a way that use of 'means of production' and 'wealth' should not result in well being of particular community and to the detriment of the society.

As in the then U.S.S.R [United Soviet Socialist Republic], the Planning Commission of India opted for five year plan. The government of India prepares a document that has a plan for all its income and expenditure for the next 5 years. Accordingly the budget of the central and all the state governments is divided into parts:

- i. Non 'Planned' Budget – This is spent on routine items on a yearly basis.
- ii. Planned Budget – This is spent on a Five year basis as per the priorities fixed by the plan. A five years plan has the advantage of permitting the government to focus on the larger picture and make long term intervention in the economy.

The First Five Year Plan:

The draft of the first five year plan and the actual plan document was released in December 1951. People from all walks of life-academics, journalists, government and private sector employees, industrialists, farmers, politicians etc. discussed and debated the documents extremely.

The first five year plan (1951-56) sought to get economy out of the vicious cycle of poverty. The prominent young economist K.N. Raj argued for "hasten slowly" for the development for the first two decades as a fast rate of development might endanger democracy. The First Five Year Plan addressed mainly the agrarian sector including investment in dams and irrigation. Due to the bitter Partition, Agricultural sector was hit hardest and needed urgent attention. Huge allocations were made for "Modern Temples of India" like the Bhakhra Nangal Dam. The First Five Year Plan also focused on land reform for the country's development. One of the basic aims of the planners was to raise the level of national income. Basic level of spending was very low in the 1950's. Hence planners sought to push savings up. Due to the efforts of the planners, savings did rise up and that rise continued till the Third Five Year Plan, but later it declined sharply.

Second Five Year Plan

The second plan stressed on heavy industries and it was drafted by a team of economists and planners under the strong leadership of P.C. Mahalanobis. Contrary to the patience preached in first plan, second plan aspired to bring about quick structural transformation by making changes as all possible directions. The congress party passed a resolution in Avadi near Madras before finalization of the draft of the second plan and declared its goal of "Socialist pattern of society". This was visible in Second Plan document. The government imposed substantial tariffs on imports to protect domestic industries, which helped them to grow. Savings and investments were growing, bulk of these industries like electricity, railways, steel, machineries and communication could be developed in the public sectors. The push for industrialization marked a turning point in India development.

Achievements of Plans From 1947–65

1. Stepping up the rate of growth required a substantial increase in the investment rate. An important achievement in this period was the rise in the savings and investment rates.

2. On the agrarian front, the comprehensive land reforms measures initiated soon after independence, the setting of a massive network for agricultural extension and community development at village level, the large infrastructural investment in irrigation, power, and agricultural research created favorable conditions for agricultural growth.
3. Industry during the first three plans, grew more rapidly than agriculture. The industrial growth was based on rapid import substitution of both consumer goods and capital good and intermediate goods. This helped India in reducing India's total dependence on the advanced countries for basic goods and capital equipment's.
4. Apart from industry and agriculture, the early planners gave utmost priority to the development of social infrastructure including education and health, areas greatly neglected in the colonial past.
5. Nehru's temples of Modern India' consisted not only of steel and power plants, irrigation dams, etc. but included institutions of higher learning particularly in the scientific field. During first Five year Plan, high powered national laboratories and institutes were set up by the council of scientific and industrial research for conducting fundamental and applied research in each of following areas : Physics, chemistry, fuel, glass and ceramics food technology drugs, electro-chemistry, roads, leather and building. In 1948, the Atomic Energy Commission was set up laying the foundations of the creditable advances India was to make in the sphere of nuclear Science and related areas. India's scientific and technical manpower increased more than 12 times from 190,000 to 2.32 million.

Key controversies regarding 5 year plans: The strategy of development followed in the early years raised several important questions.

1. Agriculture vs. Industry

Many thought that the second Plan lacked an agrarian strategy for development and the stress on industry caused agriculture and rural India to suffer badly. Veteran Gandhian economists like J.C. Kumarappa proposed an alternative blueprint that put greater emphasis on rural industrialisation. The stress on rapid industrialisation required import of technology for which India has to spend precious foreign exchange to buy from global market. It was the industry that attracted more investment than agriculture, the possibility of food shortage loomed large.

2) Public vs. Private Sector:

The state controlled key heavy industries, provided industrial infrastructure, regulated trade and made some crucial interventions in agriculture. Critics argued that the planners refused to provide the private sector with enough space and the stimulus to grow. The enlarged public sector produced powerful vested interests that created enough hurdles for private capital by installing systems of licenses and permits for investment. With the restriction on imports, of goods, Production of such goods in domestic market with little or no competition in addition to no incentive to improve the quality of products. The state controlled more things than required which led to inefficiency and corruption.

C. Green Revolution

Green Revolution in India is known to reduce the dependence of India on foreign aids for the supply for good grains during the agricultural crises like droughts, floods etc. and envisaged to make India self dependent and self sustained nation in terms of food grains availability.

Prevailing Conditions before the introduction of Green Revolution:

- The focus for Indian agriculture was only on institutional reforms, not on the technological base for agriculture.
- Despite very credible growth of agriculture output during 1949 to 65 of 3% per annum India had been facing food shortages since the mid 1950's.
- The massive jump in population growth rates after independence, steady rise in per capita income, huge outlays towards planned industrialisation put long term pressures on Indian agriculture which resulted in massive demand.
- To meet food shortage, India was forced to import food in greater amount.

- Two wars, one with China (1962) and another with Pak (1965) and successive drought in years 1965–1966, led to fall in agriculture output massively. Food prices shot up.
- Arm twisting policies of U.S.A. Government due to India stand on Vietnam and India's denial of accepting an economy policy package. [During shortage of food, India was importing food from U.S.A. under the PL-480 Scheme].
- Due to the grim Scenario of the mid 1960's economic self reliance and food self sufficiency became top priority objectives of Indian leadership.

Initiatives prior to Green Revolution to boost Agriculture:

- There was wrong perception prevailed during the Nehru's era that he had neglected the agriculture sector and instead focused too much on rapid industrialisation. But contrary to this perception, Nehru had placed great importance to create the physical and scientific infrastructure essential for Indian agriculture. There was massive large scale irrigation and power projects like Bhakra Nangal, various agricultural Universities and research laboratories fertilizer plant were set up.

Introduction of Green Revolution in India Green Revolution took place in three different phases in India in various regions of the country at different point of time.

First phase of the Green Revolution: This happened from 1962–65 to 1970–73 with the sharp increases in yield in wheat in the north-western region of Punjab, Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh.

Second phase of the Green Revolution: This happened from 1970–73 to 1980–83 with the extension of HYV [High Yielding Variety] seed technology from wheat to rice, this time the technology spread was in Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh particularly the coastal areas, parts of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu and soon regions like Maharashtra, Gujarat, improved their production too.

Third Phase: Third phase was from 1980–83, to 1992–95 showed very significant and encouraging results. This time Green Revolution spread to the low growth areas like Orissa, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, and Rajasthan. During the last phase, Southern region registered higher rate of growth than Northern region. By the end of this phase, the 'coefficient of variation' of the output growth levels and yield [per hectare] level between the various states dropped down substantially compared to earlier decades. By the end of the last phase, there was considerable reduction in regional inequality by increase in the prosperity in rural India.

Government's other positive initiative during Green Revolution Period:

- Government investment in agriculture rose significantly. Institutional finance in agriculture sector doubled from 1968 to 1973.
- The agricultural prices commission was set up in 1965 and efforts were made to assure the farmers a sustained remunerative price.
- Public investment, institutional Credit remunerative prices and availability of the new technology at low prices raised the profitability of private investment by farmers.
- The result of government's initiative was that the rate of increase in the gross irrigated area rose from 1 million hectares per annum in Pre Green Revolution to about 2.5 million hectares per annum during the 1970s.

Positive impact of Green Revolution:

- Throughout the three phases of Green Revolution food grain production rose significantly. By the 1980's not only was India self sufficient in food with buffer food stocks of over 30 million tonnes, but also it was exporting food to pay back its earlier loans and to loan to deficit countries.
- The critical impact of the Green Revolution was it maintained the agricultural growth rates plus it generated a rapid increase in the marketable surplus of food grains.
- The liberation from dependence on PL-480 or other imports was a major step in the direction of self reliant independent development for India.
- The new Green Revolution technology proved not only scale neutral but also evolved an inverse relationship between scale and productivity. Small farmers applied more inputs per unit of land compared to large farmers.

- Small farmers became relatively more viable and did not sell out their land to large land holding farmers in distress.
- The Green Revolution not only generated employment in agriculture but also non agricultural rural and semi-urban employment through the development of agro industries, transport industry, and other agriculturally allied sectors.

Increase in income of farmers led to the demand for factory produced consumer durables like radios, watches, TVS, Sewing machines etc.

- The surplus stocks of food-grain helped government to launch employment generating poverty alleviation programmes in backward areas.
- In conclusion, the Green Revolution had a major impact on rural poverty level which declined sharply through food availability, and it resulted in decline in relative prices of food, generating employment in agricultural sector and agriculturally allied areas, rises in wages etc.

Negative impacts of the Green Revolution:

- Huge disparity and polarization between classes and regions resulted in favourable conditions for left wing organisations to organise the poor peasants to follow extreme paths (seeds of Left Wing Extremism) for their rights; the green revolution also resulted in the rise of middle peasant sections. These middle peasants with medium size holding hugely benefitted from the changes and later emerged as politically influential in many parts of the country.
- The negative environmental impact of excessive use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides as well as plateauing of the growth rates in areas like Punjab. The excessive withdrawal of groundwater for irrigation in many areas without adequate recharging of the sub soil aquifers is environmentally unsustainable.
- Tenants and share croppers who did not have security of tenure were perhaps the only losers.
- To appease the Farming Community in Green Revolution belt, many political parties provided electrical power with subsidy or totally free which led to misuse of it and adversely affected the overall health of the Indian economy.

D. Operation Flood and Cooperatives

Background to operation flood:

Peasants of Kaira [Kheda] district, Gujarat which supplied milk to Bombay felt cheated by the milk traders and then they met Sardar Patel who was from the same region to redress their grievances. At the initiative of Patel & Morarji Desai, the farmers organized themselves into a cooperative union, pressurize the Bombay government with "Milk Strike" to buy milk directly from their Union. These farmers registered themselves in Anand, Gujarat in Dec, 1946.

Gandhian freedom fighter Tribhuvandas K. Patel, convinced the farmers to form milk cooperatives, later became its chairman and remained so for 25 years. Dr. Verghese Kurien was CEO of this Union from 1950 to 1973. Meanwhile in 1955, the Union chose "Amul" the name for its range of products, which competed with MNC companies of dairy products like Glaxo and Nestle.

The "Anand Pattern" of Kaira cooperative union gradually spread to other districts in Gujarat in 1974. The Gujarat cooperative Milk Marketing Federation Ltd. Anand was formed as an apex organisation of the unions in the district to look after marketing. According to one estimate, due to the activities of cooperative, 48% of the income of rural households came from dairying.

The Kaira cooperative success made the movements spread to the rest of the country inevitable. In the 1964, the then PM Shastriji wrote to the all (CM's of the country to set up cooperative dairies on the "Anand Pattern" to perform this task NDDDB (National Dairy Development Board) was created in 1965—Mr. Verghese Kurien was at its helm as its honorary chairman.

Beginning of Operation Flood:

Drawing heavily from the Kaira Union for personnel, expertise and much more, the NDDB launched "Operation Flood", a programme to replicate the "Anand Pattern" in other milkshed of country.

Operation Flood had organised cooperatives of milk producers into a nation-wide milk grid with the purpose of increasing milk production, bringing the producers and consumers closer by eliminating middlemen and assuring the producers a regular income throughout the year. It was not just a dairy programme, but a path to development, generating employment & income of rural households and alleviating poverty. By 1995 there were 69,875 village dairy cooperatives spread over 170 milkshed all over the country with a total membership of 8.9 million farmers.

Impact of operation Flood

- The obvious impact of operation Flood was the considerable increase in milk supply and consequent increase in income of the milk producers, particularly the poor. It was estimated that 60% of the beneficiaries were marginal or small farmers and landless labourers.

Milk cooperatives proved to be a significant anti-poverty measure.

Cooperatives

All the leader of Indian freedom struggle, from Mahatama Gandhi to Nehru, the socialists, communists, past independence agreed that co-operativization would lead to major improvement in Indian agriculture and benefit the poor.

The congress Agrarian Reforms Committee also known as Kumarappa Committee made the recommendation for compulsory promoting cooperatives. The congress party in their 1959's Nagpur Session passed Nagpur Resolution which visualize an agrarian pattern based on Joint cooperative farming in the future, it specified that such a pattern was to be achieved within three years, However, there were some leaders like C. Rajagopalachari, N.G. Ranga and Charan Singh who opposed such move hence Nehru in Feb 1959 assures the Parliament of not using any coercion to introduce cooperatives.

- The chief beneficiaries of this scheme were the landless people from SC &ST communities and deprived sections of other communities.

Operation Flood and the accompanying dairy expansion has been instrumental in the establishment of an indigenous dairy equipment manufacturing industry ; an impressive body of indigenous expertise that includes animal nutrition, animal health, artificial insemination management information systems (MIS), dairy engineering, food technology.

- Operation flood was instrumental in empowerment of women. Operation flood with the help of NGOs like SEWA helped in establishing about 6,000 Women dairy cooperative societies.
- Operation Flood had spillover effect on other cooperatives too. Cooperatives for fruits and vegetable producers, oilseeds cultivators, small scale salt makers and tree grower were doing excellently well which were initiated by NDDB.

Limitations of Co-operativization

Daniel Thorner, the noted economist during his observation of cooperatives between Dec 1958 to May 1959 found many weaknesses on the cooperative movements. He observed two types cooperatives movements. He observed two types cooperatives in case of joint farming. One was of rich and landowning farmers. They formed such cooperatives to evade land reforms and access incentives offered by the state. These were bogus kind of cooperatives where big farmers enrolled their labourers and ex-tenants as members. The other, second type of cooperatives was state sponsored cooperative forms where uncultivated lands of the government made available to the landless labourers and underprivileged groups. These cooperatives didn't live up to their expectations in terms of benefits of scale.

The service cooperatives fared better than the farming cooperatives. There were many shortcomings too in service cooperatives. Service cooperatives reinforced the caste based hierarchical structure. Leaders of such cooperatives mostly drawn from traders and money lending communities. Hence no benefits to poor. In 1971,

the National Commission on Agriculture confirmed the virtual exclusion of the landless from securing credits from credit cooperatives.

Instead of promoting people's participation in cooperative movement, very soon it became overstaffed with government officials and became inefficient. Credit cooperatives suffered from major drawback of failure of repayment of loans, which led to large percentage of over-dues. Contrary to common perception, rich and landowning community were largest defaulters than the poor and small farmers.

Chapter – 4

India's External Relations

A. Introduction to India's Foreign Policy:

At the world level, situation around the world in general was very grim. The world had just witnessed the devastating World War II, attempt of creating new international body for peace, emergence of new nations with the collapse of colonialism, twin challenges face by new countries; welfare and democracy for all. In Indian context, the bitter partition, the legacy of British India left behind many difficult challenges.

India's efforts to pursue an independent foreign policy were highlight of post 1947 politics. Nehru used foreign policy as an instrument to defend and strengthen India's independence and to safeguard her national interests, to develop the self reliance, self confidence and pride of the masses while serving the cause of world peace and anti colonialism.

India decided to conduct its foreign relations with an aim to respect the sovereignty of all other nations and to achieve security through the maintenance of peace. This aim finds an echo in the Directive principles of state Policy, in the Article 51 of constitution: "Promotion of international peace and security"

The state shall Endeavour to:

- a) Promote international peace and security.
- b) Maintain just and honourable relations between nations.
- c) Foster respect for international law and treaty obligations in the dealings of organised people with one another.
- d) Encourage settlement of international disputes by arbitration.

The three major objectives of Nehru's foreign policy were:

- i. To preserve hard earned sovereignty.
- ii. Protect territorial integrity.
- iii. Promote rapid economic development.

During Nehru's era, a basic objective of India's foreign policy was extending support to colonial and ex colonial countries in their struggle against colonialism. Another objective was that of promoting peace. Nehru constantly emphasized that peaceful co-existence of countries with different ideologies, differing systems, was a necessity and believed that nobody had a monopoly on the truth and pluralism was a fact of life. In this context, he outlined five principles which were called "**Panchsheel**" of India's Foreign Policy; these were

1. mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty,
2. nonaggression,
3. non-interference in each other's internal affairs,
4. equality and mutual benefit, and
5. Peaceful co-existence.

Major function of Indian foreign policy was to promote and protect Indian economic interests. Nehru played a crucial role in setting the national agenda. He was his own foreign minister hence, both as the Prime Minister

and the foreign minister; he exercised profound influence in the formulation and implementation of India's foreign policy from 1947 to 1964.

Non Alignment Policy –

Reason for Non-alignment Policy:

- i. After the end of WW II, the world was divided into two hostile blocs, one led by the U.S.A. and the western powers; another was by the Soviet Union.
- ii. Nehru had thought that the poor countries of Asia and Africa would gain nothing and lose everything if they join such military blocs which will serve their own self interests.
- iii. The leaders of NAM were firm in their view to expand the "area of peace" instead of hostility. Hence India and other countries like Egypt, Indonesia did not approve joining of Baghdad Pact, the Manila Treaty, SEATO and CENTO, which were military blocs.
- iv. Non-Alignment came to symbolize the struggle of India and other newly independent nations to retain and strengthen their independence from colonialism and imperialism.
- v. To pursue the dream of a peaceful world, India advocated non alignment policy by reducing the cold war tensions and contributing human resources to the UN peace keeping operations.
- vi. Due to acceptance of non-alignment policy, many nations of the world got their voice heard in the nascent organization, UN. The one country, one vote system enables the non-aligned bloc to check domination by the Western bloc. Thus, Non alignment advanced the process of democratization of international relations.

Background to Non Alignment Policy:

- i. Indian National Movement was a part of the worldwide struggle against colonialism and imperialism. India's struggle influenced the liberation movements of many Asian and African countries. There was communication between the nations who were united in their common struggle against colonialism and imperialism.
- ii. Due to vast size, location and power potential, Nehru envisaged a major role for India in world affairs, particularly in Asian Affairs.
- iii. Throughout the 1940s and 50s, Nehru had been an ardent advocate of Asian unity. Hence, under his leadership, India convened the Asian Relations Conference in March 1947 in New Delhi. Later India supported the Indonesian struggle for freedom from the Dutch colonial regime by convening an international conference in 1949.
- iv. India was an ardent supporter of the decolonization process, firmly opposed racism, particularly the apartheid in South Africa. The Afro Asian Bandung Conference 1955, marked the Zenith of India's engagement with the newly independent Asian and African Nationals. The Bandung Conference later led to the establishment of the NAM. The first Summit of the NAM was held in Belgrade in September 1961.

Criticism of NAM:

- i. Former U.S.A. secretary of state, John Foster Dulles accused the non alignment movement with the charge of "immoral neutrality"
- ii. Nehru rebated the charge of Dulles, by saying that Non alignment meant having the freedom to decide each issue on its merits, to understand what was right or wrong, and then take a stand in favour of right.

B. Relations with neighbors [Pakistan & China]

[Note: We will discuss in brief only, the relations of India with Pakistan and China such as wars some disputes or background to some important events. For detail information, students must refer their IR notes.]

India's relations with her neighbours were of central concern to her. India signed with Nepal, Treaty of Peace and Friendship in 1950, which gave Nepal unhindered access for commercial transit through India and secured its total sovereignty and making both the countries responsible for each other's security. With Burma [now Myanmar] there was problem of India settlers which was solved peacefully. Even though there was some tension with Sri Lanka regarding Tamil settlers' issue, but it didn't become obstacle in the relations. However, India had bitter relations with both China and Pakistan.

I. Relations with Pakistan:

Maharaja of Kashmir had sought one year time to make up his mind whether to join either country or to remain independent. Both the countries agreed for this term. However, fearing the tide against Pakistan, the leadership of Pakistan initiated a proxy war by sending some tribesmen from the Frontier Province. India accepted the demand of help by Kashmiri ruler and sent its troops to drive out these tribesmen. Meanwhile Ruler of Kashmir had to sign the instrument of Accession and became a part of India. At the same time after the end of this proxy war, India lodged the complaint against Pakistan for their illegal action in UN. Instead of getting justice at UNs, Western powers backed Pakistan. India also accepted the UN resolution on ceasefire in spite of its advantageous position and agreed for plebiscite in Kashmir, which laid down two conditions for holding plebiscite:–

- a. Pak should withdraw its forces from the state of J&K.
- b. The authority of the Srinagar administration should be restored over the whole state.

Above mentioned first conditions was never fulfilled, so there was no plebiscite there. Meanwhile J&K participated in India's general elections and then the talk of plebiscite remained irrelevant.

The Kashmir conflict didn't prevent cooperation between the government of India and Pak. Both the government worked together to restore the abducted women to their original families, a long term dispute of river water sharing was resolved –with world Bank's mediation and India-Pakistan Indus Water Treaty was signed by Nehru and General Ayub Khan in 1960.

1965 War:

Pak still desired for the accession of Kashmir, even after its debacle by Indian troops in 1947. Pakistan launched armed attacks in the Rann of Kutch area of Gujarat, later it launched bigger offensive in J&K in August and September in 1965. Pakistan thought that this time the local population would support the cause of Pakistan, but this thought again failed to convince the local people and Pak couldn't get the local support. Meanwhile, in order to ease the pressure from Kashmir front, the then PM Shastri ordered Indian troops to launch counter offensive on the Punjab border. This war again won by India, and the hostilities came to an end with UN intervention.

Due to the mediation of Soviet Union, Both the countries signed the Tashkent Agreement [Shastri from India & General Ayub Khan from Pak] in January 1966. Although India won the war, this war added India the economic difficulties.

1971 War:

The internal crisis of Pakistan after the verdict of their general elections turned violent. The ruling party of Zulfikar Bhutto emerged as winner in West Pakistan while in their Eastern Part Sheikh Mujib-Ur Rahman's Awami League won the seats with great margins. However, strong and powerful western establishment ignored the democratic verdict and didn't accept the League's demand for federation. Instead of responding to their demands and verdict positively, Pak army arrested Rahman and unleashed brutal terror activities and suppressed their voices. To end this menace permanently, people of Eastern Pak started liberation struggle of Bangladesh from Pak. Due to the huge influence of refugees from Eastern Pak, India deliberated much and later extended its support to people's cause materially and morally, which was frowned by Western Pak as Indian conspiracy to break of Pakistan.

The support to Western Pak came from the USA & China to quash the people's movement. To ensure its safety from the attacks of American and Chinese backed Pak, India signed 20 year Treaty of Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union. Even after much diplomatic deliberations it could not achieve concrete results, and full scale war broke out in December 1971 on both the western and Eastern front. With the support of local population in the form of "Mukti Bahini" Indian army made rapid progress and compelled the Pakistani troops to surrender in 10 days only. With emergence of Bangladesh as an independent country, India declared a unilateral ceasefire. Later Shimla Agreement of 1972 (July 03) between Indira Gandhi & Zulfikar Bhutto brought back the peace between two nations.

Kargil War:

After the debacle of 1971 war, Pak army never tried to fight with Indian army directly and started the proxy war by sending the terrorists trained by their secret agencies to create havoc and panic in J& K and India.

In 1999, so called Mujahideens occupied several points on the Indian side of LOC in the Mashkoh, Dras, Kaksar, Batalik. Suspecting Pak's hand behind such activities, Indian forces immediately started reaching to such proxy war which is known as "Kargil conflict". This conflict got worldwide attention because of the nuclear capabilities attained by these countries in 1998, which could be used by either sides, However this wasn't used in the war, and without it Indian troops regained their points with the help of their courage, bravery and conventional war tactics only. There was huge controversy surrounding this Kargil conflict, that, the then PM of Pak was kept in the dark of such move. Later, the then Pak army Chief General Pervez Musharraf took over as its President.

II. Relations with China:

India adopted a policy of friendship towards China since the beginning. India was the first to recognize the new People's Republic of China on January 01, 1950. Nehru also supported the representation of China in U.N.S.C. When Nehru and Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai signed "Panchsheel "Treaty, at the same time India recognized China's right over disputed territory of Tibet and approved the Chinese control over it.

1962 War:

Relations of India with China turned soured in 1962 when Chinese forces attacked the Thagla ridge and dislodged troops, which was initial spark for ensuing massive attack. In October 1962, the Chinese army launched a massive attack and overran India posts in the eastern sector in NEFA [now Arunachal]. India army commander in NEFA fled without resistance and left behind open door for Chinese personnel to attack India. In western sector, Chinese captured 13 posts in the Galwan Valley and the Chushul airstrip was threatened. India was apprehensive of such move by China and sought American and British help later, However Chinese themselves declared a unilateral withdrawal but soured the relationship between the two nations.

Impact of 1962 War:

- The resources for the economic development and third five year plan were diverted for defence and India faced very difficult situation.
- In August 1963, Nehru faced His first and the last confidence motion of his life.
- It induces a sense of national humiliation and dented India's image at home and abroad.
- Nehru was severely criticised for his naive assessment of the Chinese intentions and the lack of military preparedness.
- Relations between the nations remained cold till 1976. Normal relations resumed in 1976, and later the then Foreign minister A.B. Vajpayee was the first top level leader who visited China in 1979.

C. India's Nuclear Policy

[Note: Here will just discuss the background for India's nuclear policy you will learn about India's nuclear policy in detail in securities issue sub chapter of G.S. paper III].

Nehru had always maintained his strong faith in Science and Technology for rapid building of modern India. A significant component of his industrialisation plans was the nuclear programme initiated in the late 1940s, under the guidance of Homi J. Bhabha. India wanted to generate atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Nehru was always against the use of nuclear weapons, so he pleaded to all the superpowers for complete nuclear disarmament. But mad race for nuclear arsenal didn't stop.

In 1974, India under the leadership of Indira Gandhi conducted its first nuclear explosions. India termed it as peaceful explosion and argues that it was committed to the policy of using nuclear power only for peaceful purposes. Earlier the five permanent members of UNSC U.S., U.S.S.R. France, U.K. China the five nuclear weapon acquired powers and tried to impose NPT [Non-Proliferation Treaty] in 1968 on the rest of the world. India considered such move as discriminatory and refused to adhere to it. India always maintained that treaties like

NPT was selectively applicable to the non-nuclear powers and legitimized the monopoly of the Five Nuclear weapon holding powers.

In 1998, India again conducted a series of nuclear test after 1974, displaying its capacity to use nuclear & energy for military purposes. After some time, Pak too conducted such test, and increases vulnerability of the region to nuclear exchange. Unhappy with moves of both India and Pak, International community imposed harsh sanctions, which were later waived when India assured no first use of nuclear weapon and maintained its stand of peaceful use nuclear energy and reiterated its commitment to global verifiable and non discriminatory nuclear disarmament leading to a nuclear weapon free world.

Chapter–5: The crisis of Democratic Order

A. Emergency

Background of Emergency

I. Economic Issues.

A combination of recession, growing unemployment rampant inflation and scarcity of food grains created a serious economic crisis. India support to Bangladesh's liberation, materially, caused serious repercussion on India's foreign exchange reserves it got drained and more resources were diverted to defence. Consecutive monsoon failure in 1972 & 73 affected India food grains availability and fuelled prices.

- Large scale unemployment and economic recession led to industrial unrest and wave of strikes in different parts of country culminated in All India railway strike in May 1974.

II. Tussle with Judiciary:–

- The union government under the leadership of Indira Gandhi, amended the constitution in the Parliament that it can abridge Fundamental rights while giving effect to DPSPs. Later, In Kesavananda Bharti Case, the Apex Court ruled that there are some basic features of the constitution, which can't be amended.
- Furious with SC judgement in Kesavanda Case, the Union Government changed the long term precedence of appointing senior most judge in S.C. as Chief Justice. In 1973, the government set aside seniority of three judges and appointed Justice A.N. Ray as Chief Justice of India.
- The Allahabad HC, while hearing the plea of socialist leader Raj Narain on the validity of victory of Indira to Lok Sabha ruled in the his favour and set aside her victory and ruled her election invalid on the grounds of abuse of power. However, S.C. Later granted stay [partial] on this order, and allows her to remain MP but said that she can't participate in proceedings of the court.

III. Imposition of Emergency:–

- Due to the Allahabad HC's judgement and later S.C.'s opinion and just partial stay on earlier's order, all the political parties under leadership of Jayaprakash Narayan, demanded her resignation on moral grounds. But Indira Gandhi resisted such demand and in response government declared a state of emergency on June 26, 1975 on the grounds of threat of internal disturbances, invoked article 352 of constitution. Once an emergency is proclaimed, the federal distribution of powers remains suspended and all the powers gets concentrated in Union government. Even the Fundamental rights get curtailed during such period. The Union Government misused its all powers, electricity of the newspaper houses got disconnected, leaders of opposition parties were arrested.

IV. Impact of Emergency:–

- Government curtailed the freedom of press via "Press censorship" and made it mandatory to get its approval before publishing it.
- Protests, strikes and public agitations were not allowed.

- Fundamental right of constitutional remedies to move the court for restoring their fundamental rights to got suspended.
- Religious and cultural organisation like R.S.S., Jamait-E-Islami were banned on the apprehension of disturbance to social and communal harmony.
- Government misused the provision of preventive detention, arrested the political workers of opposition parties. Under preventive detention arrested persons can't challenge such move as right to constitutional remedies gets suspended.
- Due to such harsh conditions during emergency regime, people who were awarded with honours like Padma shri and other awards returned these honours in the protest against suspension of democracy.
- Torture and custodial deaths occurred during Emergency, arbitrary relocation of poor people, imposition of compulsory sterilisation to control population.
- People without official position, misused the powers of administration and interfered in the functioning of the government.

V. Comparative Analysis of Emergency [Pakistan, Bangladesh, India]

Pakistan

One can see the long periods of political instability due to military coup or state of emergency in Pakistan. Soon after the adoption of constitution framework to govern the nation in Pakistan, General Ayub Khan took over administration and caused the popular dissatisfaction against his rule. Later we see many such attempts by other individuals too. General Yaha Khan, General Zia-Ul-Haq then later General Pervez Musharraf, they had dislodged the elected governments. Due to such state of emergency, Pakistan couldn't establish the true sense of democracy. Hence it always lagged behind in implementing rule of law and maintaining law and order.

There were several factors which contributed to Pakistan's failure in building a stable democracy one such factor was social dominance of the military, clergy and landowning aristocracy. The constant desire of rulers in Pakistan to fight with India over Kashmir conflict drew their attention away from building democratic institutions to strengthening military establishment. The military rulers considered Political Parties and democracy as flawed. Also, the lack of genuine internal support for democratic rule in Pakistan has encouraged the military to continue its dominance.

Bangladesh

Bangladesh which was earlier East Pakistan, after emerging out as Independent nation, drafted its constitution and declared its faith in secularism, democracy and socialism. But the father of Bangladesh Sheikh Mujib amended the constitution, abolished all parties except his own, the Awami League. Such radical shifts led to the conflict chaos and tensions. These steps of Sheikh Mujib, led to Military uprisings and later the military Generals never tried to establish the democratic institutions and ruled the nation for longer periods.

The authoritarian regimes of military establishment were solely responsible for the failure to institutionalize democracy. Also due to lack of preventive measures to stop such illegal capture of power.

India

If we introspect, the vision and yearning of our founding fathers of the nation, we can see that they had strived really hard to institutionalize the democratic system in India. In our constitution, we have the provisions to declare emergency, on different unforeseen situations but that provision is there with many safeguard to avoid its malafide use. Our leaders in the past firmly believed in the democratic functioning of the system and adhered to democratic norms strictly and never allowed to subvert it, except one instance.

In 1975, the then PM Indira Gandhi had declared emergency, on the grounds of threat to internal stability. Due to the abuse of power during the period of emergency, the leaders had realised that such measures well subvert the rule of law and democratic institutions. Therefore post emergency, they had ensured that such declaration of emergency, should not happen again and put stringent restrictions on declaring the emergency. The preventive measures restored the people's faith in democracy and political leaders too adhered to such conditions and since then they never attempted to undermine the democratic framework. Hence we have not seen any instance of declaration of emergency and after 1977 democracy flourished in India in true sense.

VI. Lessons from Emergency:

Normalcy soon resumed in India after the end of emergency. Many observers found many weakness and strengths emerged out of this period.

- First lesson is that it is extremely difficult to do away with democracy in India.
- The ambiguities regarding the emergency provisions immediately rectified and it was added in the constitution that "Internal Emergency" can be proclaimed only on the grounds of "armed rebellion" and it is now necessary for the council of Minister to advise President in writing to proclaim emergency.
- Emergency made everyone aware of the value of civil liberties.

[The later part of the Emergency is available on page number 3A & 3B after that the Sub chapter of J.P. Movement starts].

B. J.P. Movement

The students of Gujarat protested immensely in January 1974 against the rise in prices of food-grains, cooking oil and other essential commodities, which was later joined by the political parties too.

The police administration replied with excessive force, indiscriminate arrests and used lathi charge. Later union government dissolved the assembly and announced new elections to the assembly.

Inspired by the efforts and success by Gujarat student's movement, similar agitation was initiated in Bihar by students in March 1974. Jayaprakash Narayan came out of his political retirement and provided the perfect leadership to these students. He gave a call for "Sampoorn Kranti" (Total Revolution) against the immense corruption, to defend democracy from authoritarian personality of Indira Gandhi.

During the JP Movement, people set up parallel governments all over the state, didn't pay the taxes etc. The J.P. Movement attracted wide support from students, middle classes, traders, and a section of the intelligentsia.

The J.P. Movement also got the backing of nearly all the non left political parties. However, by the end of 1974, The JP Movements fervor got down because of absence of organizational structures of the movement. Most of his student followers resumed their classes. The movement had failed to attract the rural and urban poor both in Gujarat and Bihar.

C. Naxalite Movement:

The first non congress United Front (UF) government came to power in West Bengal, comprising the CPI, CPM and Bangla Congress [a breakaway faction of the Congress]. This new government decided to expedite the implementation of land reforms.

The then land revenue minister Hare Krishna Konar announced a programme of quick distribution of surplus land among landless and an end to eviction of share croppers. But this process was slow and time consuming because issue of distribution of surplus land went to the court and was under litigation. Therefore, the local leader Charu Majumdar from Naxalbari area of Darjeeling district argued that this democratic process of distribution of land and democracy in India is Sham and decided to adopt a strategy of protracted guerrilla warfare in order to lead a revolution.

This Naxalite Movement under Majumdar's leadership used force to snatch land from the rich landowners and to distribute it among the poor and the landless. Its supporters advocated the use of violent means to achieve their political goals. Even though the then government and the subsequent governments strived to control the naxalite menace, it didn't succeed rather it spread to many other parts of the country. It had lots of splintered groups but then joined together in early 2000's and formed unified CPI (Maoist).

Currently, about 75 districts in nine states are affected by Naxalite violence Most of these are resource rich very backward areas inhabited by Adivasis. In these areas the sharecroppers, tenants and small cultivators were denied their basic rights with regard to security of tenure or their share in produce, payment of fair wages etc.

Forced labour, expropriation of resources by outsiders and exploitation by moneylenders are also common in these areas. These harsh conditions lead to the growth of the Naxalite Movement.

D. Communalism:—

The problem of communalism begins when a religion is seen as the basis of the national unity and identity. The problem becomes more sharp when religion is expressed in exclusive and partisan terms, when one followers of a particular religion is pitted against another.

Communal politics is based on the idea that religion is the principal basis of social community. The most common expression of communalism is in everyday beliefs which routinely involve religious prejudices, stereotypes of religious communities and belief in the superiority of one's religion over other religions. Political mobilization on religious lines is another frequent form of communalism, this involves the use of sacred symbols, religious leader's emotional appeal and plain fear in order to bring the followers of one religion together against the other religious community. Sometimes communalism takes its most ugly form of communal violence, riots, and massacre etc.

Communalism was and continues to be one of the major challenges to democracy in our country. The founding fathers of the nations wanted secular India, hence they strictly refrained themselves from declaring India's official religion, and provided equal freedom to all the followers of different religions. In spite of all the equal freedom to everyone in the country and secular character of country India witnessed lots of communal riots which were immensely brutal and horrendous.

Here we will discuss the infamous incident of communal politics.

1. Ayodhya Dispute:

A dispute had been going on for many decades over the mosque known as Babri Masjid at Ayodhya, built by Mir Baqi Tashqandi, Mughal Emperor Babur's General. Some Hindus believe that it was built after demolishing a temple of Lord Rama which is believed to be his birthplace. The dispute reached to the court and in late 1940's the mosque was locked up as the matter was with court.

In February 1986, the Faizabad district court ordered that Babri Masjid premises to be unlocked so that Hindus could offer prayers at the statue which they considered as a temple. Soon with the unlocking of doors, mobilisation on communal lines began on both the sides. Gradually the local issue became national issue and increased the communal tensions.

In December, 1992 many Karsevaks of Hindu Right Wing faction like VHP, Bajrang Dal etc. arrived at Ayodhya in the name Karseva, voluntary service by devotees to build Ram temple. Meanwhile the Apex Court ordered that State government must ensure that disputed site won't be endangered. However thousands of peoples arrived there and demolished the Babri Masjid on Dec. 06, 1992 and vitiated the peaceful atmosphere in the country and it was followed by communal riots in the country at large scale, in which lots of people died. Then Union government dismissed state government and appointed Librehan Commission to investigation circumstance leading to demolition of mosque.

2. Anti Sikh Riots:—

Due to the orders of Indira Gandhi's Indian Army launched its offensive against Sikh militants at the Golden Temple in Amritsar under the code name "Operation Blue Star". The army was successful in driving out the militants from the Sikh's sacred place, but this event angered the Sikh People and their sentiments got hurt. To avenge this action the bodyguards of Mrs. Gandhi killed her at her own house. Later the angry congress workers and supporters allegedly began their brutal actions of killing innocent Sikh People in the country; Delhi was the most affected area during anti Sikh riots. Union Government appointed so many commissions to enquire about the guilty people and to find out their masterminds, but nothing concrete came out of such commissions. The kiths and kins of the victims of Anti-Sikh riots are still waiting to get the justice after 30 years of the incident.

3. Anti-Muslim riots in Gujarat (2002)

In months of February and March 2002, Gujarat witnessed its one of the ugliest communal riots in its history. The spark of the riots happens at Godhra Station, where a bogey of train that was returning from Ayodhya with Karsevaks set on fire. Suspecting it to be Muslims conspiracy, large scale violence against Muslims began in many parts of Gujarat. The National Human Right Commission Criticized the Gujarat Govt's role in failing to control violence, in providing relief to the victims and prosecute the perpetrators of this violence.

Gujarat riots show that the governmental machinery also becomes susceptible to sectarian passions.

Chapter–6: Regional Discontent and its Solution

A. Basis of Regionalism:–

Local patriotism and loyalty to a locality or region or state and its language and culture don't constitute regionalism nor are they disruptive of the national unity. They are quite consistent with national patriotism and loyalty to the nation. One's pride in his/her region doesn't constitute regionalism. The Indian national movement too functioned on this understanding.

Aspiring to or making special efforts to develop one's state, to remove poverty, implementing social justice is not branded as regionalism. However, if any state asserting its pride & interests above the national interest and against the nation in a hostile manner, then that can be dubbed as regionalism.

American scholar and journalist, Selig Harrison in his book India – The most dangerous decades, wrote that there would be threat to Indian unity because of conflict between national and state governments. But contrary to this apprehension, India quite well managed to accommodate and even celebrate India's cultural diversity.

The linguistic reorganization of India and the resolution of the official language controversy have played a very important role by eliminating a patent cause of the feeling of cultural loss or cultural domination. Despite such great amount of amity and peace, there exist many regional disputes which create friction between regional states like on sharing of river waters between Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, Karnataka & Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh etc.

Economic Imbalances & Regionalism:–

Economic inequality among different states and region could be a potential source of trouble. Hence from the beginning, the national government felt a responsibility to counter the imbalance in regional development. To influence the rates of growth in poorer states and regions and to reduce economic distance from richer states, the central government adopted a whole range of policies.

- A major instrument in government's hand in bringing development to the poor state was transfer of financial resources, which was done by Finance Commission, a constitutional body.
- Planning was also used as a powerful instrument to remove regional inequality. Planning Commission allocated greater plan assistance to the backward states. The assistance was given in both the forms, grants and loans.
- Public investment by the central government in major industries such as steel, fertilizers, oil refining, petro chemicals, heavy chemicals, and in power and irrigation projects has been a tool for the reduction of regional inequality.
- Government incentives have been provided to the private sector to invest in backward areas through subsidies, tax concessions, concessional banking and institutional loans at subsidized rates. In spite of above mentioned initiatives and programmes the backward states have a lower level of infrastructural facilities such as power, irrigation, roads, telephones and modern markets for agricultural produce. Political and administrative failure also bolsters backwardness.

Sons of Soil Doctrine:

This doctrine mentions that particular state belongs to majority linguistic group inhabiting it or constitutes an exclusive "homeland" for regional language speakers. The doctrine is majorly popular in cities. In the struggle for the appropriation of economic resources and economic opportunities, recourse was often taken to communalism, casteism and nepotism.

In similar way, language loyalty and regionalism was and is still used to systematically exclude the "outsiders". This doctrine was profoundly utilized in big metros like Mumbai (Marathi) [Earlier Bombay], Bangalore (Kannada), Kolkata (Bengali), etc.

"Mulki rule" provided in article 371(D) of Indian constitution safeguards the rights of local people in employment and education and was created after agitation in the state of Andhra Pradesh. This is an example of Sons of soil doctrine, but this was provided only in Group C and D services.

Sons of the soil doctrine arise when there is actual or potential competition for industrial and middle class jobs, between the migrants and local educated middle class youth. The worst case of anti migrant or implementation of Sons of the Soil doctrine was movement led by Shiv Sena which appealed regional chauvinism and assumed fascist proportions. However, the courts approved the reservation on the grounds of residence, but maintained people's right to migrate and their allied fundamental right regarding their movements

B. Issue of J & K, Punjab

1. Issue of J & K

Jammu and Kashmir comprises three social and political regions: Jammu, Kashmir & Ladakh. Kashmir Valley is the heart of the region.

Jammu region is a mix of foothills and plains areas of Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and speakers of various languages.

The Ladakh region is mountainous, has very little population which is equally divided between Buddhists and Muslims.

The Kashmir issue" isn't just a dispute between India & Pak. It has both external and internal dimensions. It involves the issue of Kashmiri identity "Kashmiriyat" and the aspirations of the people of J& K Political autonomy.

Root – Cause of the problem:

- Before 1947, J&K was a princely state as specified by British that Princes were free to join any either country or to remain independent. The Prince wanted to remain independent, while the popular movement in the state, led by Sheikh Abdullah of the national conference wanted to get rid of Maharaja Hari Singh & at the same time didn't wish to join Pak.
- Later after partition, Pak still had eye on J&K and to annex it forcefully it sent tribal infiltrators from its side to capture Kashmir. The Maharaja pleaded for help and India helped to drive out infiltrators only when the Maharaja signed "Instrument of Accession" to India. At the same time, it was also agreed that once the situation get normalised, the views of the people of J&K will be ascertained about their future.
- The tribal infiltrators had captured one part of the state which came under Pak's control, India maintains this as illegal and since then Kashmir has remained a major issue of conflict between India and Pak.
- Internally, there is a dispute which still persist and couldn't be resolved that related to J&K's special status because of Article 370 of the constitution, which gives greater autonomy to it as compare to other states in the country. All provisions of Indian constitution are not applicable to the state. Laws passed by the Parliament apply to J&K only if the state agrees. J&K has its own constitution too.
- There is a section of people and parties outside J&K that believes that the special status of the state doesn't allow full integration of the state with India. Hence, it should be revoked. The people residing in Jammu & Kashmir, mostly Kashmiri don't believe that autonomy conferred by Article 370 is enough. A section of Kashmiri have expressed at least three major grievances:
 - i. The promise of "Plebiscite" hasn't fulfilled.

- ii. Autonomy given by Article 370, has been eroded in practice and this led to a clamor for "Greater State Autonomy".
- iii. Democracy which is practiced in the rest of India, hasn't been institutionalised in J&K.

By 1989, the J&K state had come in the grip of a militant movement mobilised around the cause of a separate Kashmiri region. The insurgents get moral, material and military support from Pak. Separatist Politics has taken different forms and made up of various strands. The centre has started negotiations with various separatist groups.

2. Punjab Issue

The social composition of the state changes first with the partition and later on with creation of Haryana & H.P.

Much before the independence, in 1920, the Akali Dal was formed as the political wing of Sikhs, which led movement for the formation of a "Punjabi Suba". After partition, the Sikhs were now a majority in the truncated state of Punjab. Hence to fulfill this demand, during the 1970s a section of Akalis began to demand political autonomy for the region. They passed a resolution in this regard in their Anandpur Sahib Conference in 1973. This resolution asserted regional autonomy and wanted to redefine centre-state relationship in the country. They declared their goal of attaining bolbala (dominance or hegemony) of the Sikhs. However, this didn't mean separation from India. The more extreme elements started advocating secession from India & demanded "Khalistan".

The leadership of Akali was transformed from moderate to extreme elements, and they took the path of armed insurgency to get Khalistan. They made the Golden Temple as their HQ in Amritsar and turned it into an armed fortress. In June 1984, the government of India carried out "operation Blue star" an army action to flush out the militants. It was successfully achieved by Indian army personnel. Meanwhile during the action the holy place got damaged and people's sentiments got hurt and this gave impetus to militant and extremist groups. Later, the bodyguards of our PM Indira Gandhi shot her to avenge the feelings of Sikhs, which was followed by brutal anti Sikh riots.

Road to Peace:

The newly elected PM of India, Rajiv Gandhi signed an agreement with Harchand Singh Longowal the then President of Akali Dal which was known as "Rajiv Gandhi-Longowal Accord or the Punjab Accord". This was a positive step towards bringing normality to Punjab.

Basic feature of the Accord:

- i. Transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab.
- ii. Sharing of Water through tribunal between Rajasthan, Punjab, Haryana.
- iii. Compensation for those who suffered from militancy.
- iv. Revocation of AFSPA from Punjab.

This accord didn't facilitate peace immediately. Militancy and counter insurgency violence continued which led to human rights violation. Fragmentation of Akali Dal also started. Normal political process was suspended and President's rule was imposed.

Gradually the military was eradicated by the security forces. Peace returned to Punjab by the middle of 1990's. The alliance of BJP and Shiromani Akali Dal emerged as victorious and brought back democratic process in the state.

C. Problems with North-East Region:—

The regional aspirations of North-east region became more focal and prominent in the 1980's. The region has seen lots of changes since 1947. The princely states like Manipur, Tripura, Khasi Hills of Meghalaya had merged with India Post Independence. The whole North-East region has witnessed altogether different political reorganization. Earlier the partition of India turned the North-East region into a land locked region and affected it economically. Due to this isolation from the mainstream India, the region remained backward in terms of developmental parameters.

Nagaland state was created in 1960, Meghalaya, Manipur and Tripura in 1972 and Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram became separate state in 1986. The isolation of the region, its complex social character due to different ethnic tribes and their culture, lack of development, weak communications between the north-east region and rest of India fuelled the anger and soured the relationship between centre and this region, which led to varied demands of people inhabiting in this region. Due to this delicate relationship, people aspired for their autonomy, secessionist movements and strict opposition to outsider from entering into their region. Meanwhile, following the large scale reorganization of region in 1972, a regional body, the North-Eastern Council (NEC) was set up to provide a forum for inter-state coordination regional planning and integrated development of the region to avoid intra regional disparities.

However, this NEC couldn't control their feelings for autonomy and violent secessionist movements for that cause. Now we will discuss the different demands emanating from different parts of North-East region:

I. Demands for autonomy:–

After the independence, except Manipur and Tripura, entire north-east region comprised the state of Assam. Due to the presence of different cultures and tribes, Non assamese felt alienated with the Assamese and Bengali residents of the plain. In addition to this, the Assame Government imposed Assame language on them. This non Assamese people protested against this move violently, tribal leaders started demanding separation from Assam. To consolidate their voice for the separation, the tribal leaders formed the eastern Indian Tribal Union which later transformed into a comprehensive all Party Hill leaders Conference in 1960. Their demands were fulfilled later and several states were carved out of one Assam. This fulfillment of demands couldn't stop some tribes from aspiring a separate state only for their tribal communities like Bodos, Karbi and Dimasas. They drew centre's attention towards their demand of autonomy. They mobilised public opinion through popular movements and insurgency. It was not possible for the centre to fulfill all the regional aspirations, and create smaller and smaller states. So the centre devised some other alternative to fix this demand, such as grant of Autonomous District for such tribes.

II. Secessionist Movements:

The demands of autonomy can be fulfilled with the constitutional provisions, but when some one demand a separate country from a sovereign country, then the issue get complicated.

i. Mizoram:

Mizo People never considered themselves as a part of British Union. So they refused consider themselves as Indian, after India's Independence. Later in 1959, during the Famine in Assam, the then government didn't take care of Mizo people and shown apathy towards them. The neglect angered the Mizo people, and they formed Mizo National Front under the leadership of Lal denga.

Mizo people led MNF took an armed campaign against Indian army through a guerrilla war and they were aided by Pak government and secured their leader in the then East Pak. Pak was aiding all such secessionist movement in India to destabilize India through different means. The Union government didn't budge to such guerrilla war, and used their armed and air forces well and defeated them handsomely. But at the end of this war, after two decades each side was loser due to loss of human lives and economic resources.

After realising the futility of war, Lal denga started negotiations with the Indian Government. In 1968 Rajiv Gandhi, the then PM and Lal Denga reached for an agreement. As per the peace agreement, Mizoram was granted a full fledges statehood with special powers and MNF gave up its secessionist movement. Now, the state is recognised as having done a commendable job in the implementation of development programmes and making agriculture remunerative.

ii. Nagaland

The story of Nagaland was not different from Mizoram. Above all, the demand of separate country was declared much earlier in 1951. The leader of Nagas was Angami Zaphu Phizo. His organisation Naga National Council (NNC) declared its armed struggle for a sovereign country of Nagas. For a prolonged period NNC carried out its armed campaign against Indian government. Later a section of the Nagas signed a ceasefire agreement with Government of India. This came to be known as the Shillong Accord, which some leaders in the NNC called as total betrayal including Isak Chishi Swu, Th Muivah and Khaplang. This led to the formation of the Nationalist

Socialist Council of Nagaland or the NSCN in the late 1970s under the leadership of Isak Chishi Swu, Thuingaleng Muivah and Khaplang. It started an underground Naga Federal government having both Civil and Military wings. It again split into two factions in the late 1980s: the NSCN (IM) and the NSCN (Khaplang). Earlier Government of India had tried to quell such movements with limited success by bringing many Naga areas within an autonomous framework (1957), formation of the state of Nagaland (1963).

Still the main aim of the NSCN is to establish a sovereign state, "Nagalim" unifying all the areas inhabited by the Naga people in Northeast India and Burma. However the cease-fire between the Union Government and the NSCN has reduced violence in Naga areas. But, the problem in Nagaland still awaits a final resolution.

iii. Movements against outsiders

The migration of people from other part of the region of North-east region for its rich resources created lots of problem and increased the tension between 'local' and 'outsiders'.

The migrant people were seen as encroachers, who would snatch away their scarce resources like land, employment opportunities and political power and render the local population without their legitimate due. To drive away the outsiders from the region, there was one Assam Movement from 1975 to 1985. Their main targets were Bengali Muslim settlers from Bangladesh. In 1979 the All Assam student's union (AASU) a student's group not related to any political party, led an anti-foreigner movement. Their area of focus was illegal migration, domination of Bengali and other outsiders, against faulty voter's register of lakhs of immigrants. AASU members used non-violent and violent methods both. Their violent agitation took human lives and damaged lots of properties. After 6 years of violent turmoil, the then PM, Rajiv Gandhi negotiated with AASU leaders. Both the sides (Union Govt and AASU) signed an accord in 1985. According this accord, the foreigners who migrated into Assam during and after Bangladesh war, were to be identified and deported. With the success of signing this accord, the AASU and Assam Gana Sangram Parishad came together, formed their political party, Assam Gana Parishad, won the Assembly elections in 1985 with the promise of resolving the foreign national problem and make Assam a "Golden Assam". However the problem of immigration hasn't been resolved yet, but it brought peace to some extent.

iv. Accommodation of Regional Aspirations and National Integration:

From the above discussed movements of autonomy and secession, we have learnt that the regional aspirations are part of democratic politics. Around the world, we can see such aspirations. In UK, there are regional aspirations in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Spain faces such issue in Basques, Sri Lanka in Northern Province of the country.

Another lesson, we have learnt is that regional aspirations shouldn't be suppressed, and they should be deliberated, consulted and negotiated well within democratic norms and values.

The third point to notice is that power sharing between the centre and states should be done with utmost precision. States should have their say in matters which will affect their destinies. If the states will be deprived of their power from discussing the issue of national importance, the feeling of injustice and alienation will prevail which can destabilize the balance of power sharing.

The last lesson but not the least, is that the Union government should addressed the issue of backwardness, growth and regional discrimination. Otherwise such feelings could create immense and intense complicated problems. Hence to resolve any kind of regional issues, our founding fathers made a flexible and accommodative constitution.

Chapter 07: Reorganization of the States

A. Formation of Linguistic States:—

India is a land of many languages, each with its distinct script, grammar, vocabulary and literary tradition. In 1917, the Congress Party had committed itself to the creation of linguistic provinces in a Free India. After

Congress's Nagpur Session in 1920, the principle was extended and formalized with the creation of provincial Congress Committee by linguistic zones. The linguistic reorganization of the Congress was encouraged and supported by Mahatma Gandhi.

After the bitter partition on the basis of religion the then PM Nehru was apprehensive of dividing country further on the basis of language. During that time some Marathi speaking Congress members raised the pitches for separate Maharashtra State. Following this demand, other language speaking people too demands a separate state for them. Hence, Constituent Assembly in 1948 appointed the Linguistic Provinces Commission, headed by Justice S.K. Dhar, to enquire into the desirability of linguistic provinces. The Dhar Commission advised against this at that time reason being it might threaten national unity and also be administratively inconvenient. After some time the clamor for linguistic states again got momentum. To appease the vocal votaries of linguistic states, the congress appoints a committee (JVP) in December 1948 consisting of Nehru, Sardar Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramayya to examine the question afresh. This JVP Committee revoked the seal of approval that the congress has once put on the principle of linguistic provinces. The demands for separate state on the linguistic basis didn't subside. There were renewed movements aimed at linguistic autonomy in 1948, 1949. There was the campaign for Samyukta Karnataka, uniting Kannada speaking spread across the states of Madras, Mysore, Bombay, Hyderabad, Samyukta Maharashtra, Maha Gujarat movement. In case of Punjab, struggle brought together both the factors language and religion (Sikh).

After Independence, the speakers of Telugu asked the congress to implement its old resolution in favour of linguistic states. The method they used to advance their causes were various: Petitions, representations, street marches, parts. To support their cause, former Madras CM T. Prakasam resigned from the congress party in 1950. Another politician Swami Sitaram went on hunger strike to support Telegu people's cause. Later he called off his hunger strike on the appeal of veteran Gandhian leader Vinobha Bhave. On 19 October 1952, a popular freedom fighter, Potti Sriramulu undertook a fast unto death over the demand for a separate Andhra and expired after fifty-eight days. After his death people were agitated and it was followed by rioting, demonstrations, hartals and violence all over Andhra. The Vishalandhra movement (as the movement for a separate Andhra was called) turned violent. Finally, the then PM, Nehru announced the formation of a separate Andhra State in December 1952.

The formation of Andhra Pradesh spurred the struggle for making of other states on linguistic lines in other parts of the country. Hence Nehru appointed in August 1953 the states Reorganisation Commission (SRC) with justice Fazl Ali, K.M. Panikkar and Hridaynath Kunzru as members, to examine "objectively and dispassionately" the entire question of the reorganization of the states of the Union. The SRC submitted its report in October 1955. It recognized for the most part on the linguistic principle and recommended redrawing of state boundaries on that basis. The then government accepted the SRC's recommendations.

Finally, the states Reorganization Act was passed by parliament in November 1956. It provided for fourteen states and six centrally administered territories. SRC opposed the splitting of Bombay & Punjab. Therefore, the strongest reaction against SRC's report came from Maharashtra, where widespread rioting took place.

To fulfill their demand of separate Marathi speaking people's state, there was the broad based Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and on the other hand in Bombay state, there was Maha Gujarat Janata Parishad led the movement for Gujarati people. After on years of the reorganization of states Act, the government finally agreed in May 1960, the bifurcate the state of Bombay into Maharashtra, Gujarat with Bombay city being included in Maharashtra and Ahmedabad being made the capital of Gujarat.

The other state where an exception was made to the linguistic principle was Punjab. In 1956, the state of PEPSU had been merged with Punjab, which remained a trilingual state having three language speakers-Punjab, Hindu and Pahari within its border. In the Punjabi speaking part of the state, there was a strong demand for carving out a separate Punjabi Suba (Punjabi Speaking State). This demand got communal overtones. The Akali Dal led Sikh Communalists, while the Jan Sangh, led Hindu communalists. SRC had rejected the demands in Punjab, as it would not solve either the language or the communal problem of Punjab. Finally in 1966, Indira Gandhi agreed to the division of Punjab into two Punjabi and Hindi speaking status of Punjab and Haryana, with the Pahari speaking district of Kangra and a port of the Hoshiarpur district being merged with HP.

Finally, after more than ten years of continuous strife and popular struggles, the linguistic reorganization of India was largely completed.

B. Unique cases of reorganization:–

I. Sikkim:

At the time of Independence, Sikkim was a "Protectorate" of India. It meant that it was neither a part of India like other states nor a complete sovereign country. Sikkim's defence and foreign relation were managed by India while the power of internal administration was with the Chogyal Sikkim's Monarch. The people of the state were unhappy with this arrangement and aspired for democratic set up for governance. The majority of the people of the state were Nepali and ruler was from minority community Lepcha-Bhutia. The people of the state got support for this cause from the Government of India and from the leaders of both the communities.

In 1974's Assembly Elections, the Sikkim Congress swept the polls and they stood for greater integration with India. The Assembly sought the status of "Associate State" initially then in 1975 passed a full-fledged resolution of integration with India. This was followed by immediate referendum that sealed the approval on assembly's request of integration. The Indian Parliament accepted this plea and accepted it as a state.

II. Goa's Liberation

The prolonged rule of British empire came to an end in 1947. However, the Portugal refused to withdraw from the territories of Goa, Diu and Daman, which they ruled since 16th Century. The people of Goa were suppressed by Portuguese misrule and they were denied of basic civil rights to them, Portuguese carried out coerced religious conversions as well.

Initially, the Government of India, tried to convince the Portuguese to vacate these territories and consider the popular movements of local people. After denial of Portuguese to vacate the territories, the Indian army on the orders of Government of India, liberated the territories within the two days of armed action. After this liberation, another thorny issue emerged in Goa; Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party [MGP] desired that Goa should be merged with Maharashtra.

One faction of Goans wanted to retain their separate identity & their culture essentially their Konkani language. The faction got their support from united Goan Party (UGP). In 1967, Government of India initiated a move to resolve this issue. It undertook an "Opinion Poll" in Goa whether it should be merged with Maharashtra or remains separate. This was the only occasion where this kind of referendum like process was undertaken to ascertain people's desire on a particular subject. The overwhelming majority of the people favored Goa to remain, separate from Maharashtra. For a longer time, Goa remained a Union Territory, but Finally Goa became a state of the Indian Union.

C. Contemporary Reorganizations of the State:–

I. Chhattisgarh:–

The present state of Chhattisgarh was carved out of Madhya Pradesh, and become 26th State of India on November 01, 2000.

The demand of a separate state was first pitched in Pre Independence era in 1920's and later in Post Independence period when State Reorganization Commission in 1955 submitted its report, but it rejected the demand for separate Chhattisgarh. However after long time, this demand got renewed in 1990's and there was a state wide political forum, which gave the platform for this demand. Chhattisgarh Rajya Nirman Manch, led by Chandulal Chadrokar conducted several region wide strikes and rallies and got the support of INC and BJP.

Finally, in in 2000, NDA Government accepted separate Chhattisgarh demand and made it 26th state of India.

II. Uttarakhand

Uttarakhand, earlier known as [Uttaranchal] was carved out of Uttar Pradesh on 9th November 2000, as 27th state of India. It was the successful culmination of 70 year old struggle of the people of the hilly region for a separate state.

Lack of development in geographically unique region (93% of the areas in the hilly region & 64% of the total areas is forest area) and rising unemployment gave impetus to the age old demand for a separate state.

It all started in 1930 when residents of the hill region had moved a resolution by majority vote claiming for a separate of Uttarakhand. Later in 1973, there was Uttarakhand Rajya Parishad formed and became a platform for statehood struggle. This got transformed into Uttaranchal Kranti Dal in 1979. Later in 1994, the then CM M.Yadav set up a Kaniskya Committee for evaluating demands of Uttarakhand.. The committee favoured the formation of the state. Later in 2000, NDA Government Carved out a state Uttaranchal out of Uttar Pradesh which later changed its name to Uttarakhand.

III. Jharkhand:–

Jharkhand the tribal area of Bihar, consisting of Chotta Nagpur & the Santhal Pargana for decades showed movements for state autonomy. The area, there is concentration of several major traditional tribes, like Santhal, HO, Oraon, Munda etc.

With the spread of education & modern activity in the tribal area a movement for the separate state started in late 1930's & 1940's. Jharkhand Party was founded in 1950, under the leadership of Jaipal Singh. However, their demand of separate state got rejected by SRC in 1955. Later many tribal parties and movements developed and furthered the demand for separate state, one of them was Jharkhand Mukti Morcha led by Shibu Soren. Finally after prolonged struggle for their separate state demand, the central government made Jharkhand-28th state of India on November 15th 2000.

IV. Telengana:

On September 17, 1948 Hyderabad state, which included Telangana, was merged into the Indian Union. It is well known fact that the states reorganization Commission did not favour the idea of merging Telangans with Andhra Pradesh and it provided various safeguards to protect the interests of the people of the region for some years to come. This "gentlemen's agreement" didn't work successfully. Hence, on 1969, an agitation began in the region under Marri Channa Reddy under the banner of Telengana Praja Samiti. Later they continued their agitation but it didn't succeed.

The Telengana Rashtra Samiti then took the cause of separate Telengana in 2001. On November 29, 2009, the TRS launched an indefinite hunger strike. On December 09, 2009, the centre announced that it was "initiating the process for formation of Telengana State". Finally in 2014, their demand got accepted after much dilly-dallying it became 29th State of India on 2nd June 2014.

(v) There are still long pending demands for state formation on the different basis viz. ethnicity, lack of development, administrative inconvenience. These separate statehood demands are Gorkhaland (WB), Kamatpur state for Koch Rajbangsi (Assam), Bodoland (Assam), Vidharbha (MH), Saurashtra (Gujarat), fourfold division of Uttar Pradesh in the form of Harit Pradesh, Awadh Pradesh, Purvanchal and Bundelkhand (some parts of UP and MP).

Demands of separate statehood on various grounds show that language is not the sole glue that can bind people together. Now some people are aspiring for preservation of their ethnic culture in the form of separate state and on the other hand some people are aspiring for better development after prolonged apathy and backwardness.

Chapter 08: Contemporary Developments

A. Politics of Coalition:

A large number of political parties always contested elections in our country, as we have seen in the chapter From Colony to Democracy. In the initial years, the congress party gained overwhelming majority. The congress party commanded popularity and respect of the people. The party had mass base and grass roots in India. It remained in power both at the centre as well as in the states right from 1947 to 1967 and it had a monolithic character. However, emergence of strong regional parties, politicization of various social groups and their struggle for share in power characterized the political transition and churning in contemporary India and it have made coalition government inevitable at the Federal level.

The beginning of coalition Politics in India–

During the fourth general elections to the Lok Sabha and the state assemblies, after the demise of Nehru, and Shastri, the Congress Party exhausted its mandate and lost its character and motivation as a party of social and institutional change. People were unhappy with corruption and lavish lifestyle of party members. According to Zareer Masani, a freelance journalist and broadcaster, due to the continuous power struggle within and rapid erosion of party discipline, confidence was built up in the anti-congress wave during 1967 elections.

An important feature of the 1967 elections was the coming together of the opposition parties. The 1967 elections also initiated the dual era of short lived coalition governments and politics of defection. Coalition governments were formed in all opposition ruled states except Tamil Nadu. Congress too formed coalition governments in some of the states. 1967 elections also heralded politics of coalition. In Haryana where the defection phenomenon was first initiated, and new term was coined "Aya Ram Gaya Ram" for the leaders frequently changing their party. During 1967 to 1970 nearly 800 assembly members crossed the floor, and 155 of them were rewarded with ministerial offices.

The 1967 elections, also dramatically changed the balance of power within the Congress Party. Syndicates, the powerful group of the party received major blow as several stalwarts lost the elections.

1977 Elections

As we have seen in Emergency and J.P. Movement chapter, the prevailing conditions before the beginning of 1977 General Elections so, now we will straightway discuss the general elections, without discussing its background.

Morarji Desai, headed four party Janata Government for about two years (1977–79). Technically, it was not a coalition because its four constituents had agreed to merge and fought the elections on a single manifesto and on a share symbol.

Formation of Government in 1977

S.N.	Constituent Group	No. of MPs	No. of Ministers
1	Jana Sangh	94	11
2	Bhartiya Lok Dal	71	12
3	Congress (O)	50	10
4	Socialist Party	28	04
5	CFD Congress for Democracy	28	03
6	Ex-Congressmen [Chandra shekhar group]	05	02
7	Others [Like Akali Dal etc.]	25	02

Due to the aspiration of power and position the Janata Coalition collapsed like a house of cards in July 1979. Others reasons for the collapse were flood gates of defection were open and Akali and other regional groups withdrew their support. According to L.K. Advani, Janata Party was in the pain of collapse in 1979, partly due to their divergent concept of a party discipline. Non governance became the bane of the administration. The struggle for power within the coalition led to the conflicts, confrontation and mudslinging at each other.

After the collapse of Janata Government, India had another coalition government headed by Charan Singh. But this government too remained for a very short time. Later for almost a decade India had a stable one party government at the centre under Congress's leadership. People were unhappy with earlier two coalition governments.

Era of constant coalition government

After a decade old stable government by the congress, there was a return of coalition politics. Elections in 1989 led to the defeat of the Congress Party but didn't result in majority for any other party. This defeat of 1989 of the Congress Party marked the end of Congress dominance over the India Party System. Hence an era of multi-party system began. This new evolution in multi party system meant that no single party secured a clear majority of seats in any Lok Sabha elections held since 1989 until BJP got majority in 2014.

The nineties also saw the emergence of powerful parties and movements that represented the Dalit and backward castes. With the elections of 1989, a long phase of coalition politics began in India. There have been

nine governments at the centre, majority of them either been coalition governments or minority governments. In this phase, any government could be formed only with the participation or support of many regional parties. This can be seen from the National Front in 1989, the United Front in 1996 and 1997, the NDA in 1997, BJP led coalition in 1998, NDA in 1999 and UPA in 2004 and 2009.

Mandal Politics

The Mandal Commission was set up in 1978 by Govt. of India to investigate the extent of educational and social backwardness among various sections of Indian Society and recommend ways of identifying these "backward classes". After a decade, in August 1990, the National Front Government decided to implement one of the recommendations of Mandal Commission pertaining to reservations for OBCs in job in the central government and its undertakings. This decision sparked agitations and violent protests in many cities of North India. Supreme Court in 1992 gave a ruling upholding the decision of the government.

[Mandal Commission found that the backward caste had a very low presence in both educational institutions and in employment in public services. Hence it had recommended reservations of seats in educational institutions and government job for these groups. The Mandal Commission also made many other recommendations like land reforms, to improve the conditions of the OBCs.]

B. New Economic Policy 1991

[We will strictly restrict ourselves to the reforms on 1991 only].

The origin of the financial crisis can be traced from the inefficient management of the Indian economy in the 1980's. In the late 1980's government expenditure began to exceed its revenue by such large margins that it became unsustainable. Inflation was soaring, imports grew in excess to the export to such a level that foreign exchange reserves declined to a level that it was not adequate to finance imports for more than two weeks. Even there was insufficient foreign exchange to pay the interest to international lenders.

To ward off this precarious situation of economy, India approached the World Bank and IMF and received \$7 billion as loan to manage the crisis. In return, these institutions wanted that the Indian should open up the economy by removing restrictions of the several sectors and reduce the role of government in many areas and remove trade restrictions. India had no choice but to accept these conditions and announced the New Economic Policy. The Crux of the policy was to remove the barrier to the entry of private firms and to create more competitive environment for the economy. These reforms can be classified into two types.

1. The stabilization measures [short term]
2. The structural reform measures [Long term]

The government initiated a variety of policies which fall under three heads viz. Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization, "LPG Policy". The first two are policy strategies & the last one is the outcome of these strategies.

I. Liberalization

1991 reforms were more comprehensive as compared to the reforms of 1980's. Industrial licensing was abolished for almost all but product categories – alcohol, cigarettes, hazardous chemicals industries, expensive electronics, aerospace drugs and pharmaceuticals.

The only industries now reserved for the public sector are defence equipments, atomic energy generation and railway transport. In many industries, the market has been allowed to determine the prices.

Financial sector reforms

Major aim of financial sector reforms was to reduce the role of RBI from regulator to facilitator of financial sector. In a way, financial sector may be allowed to take decision without consulting RBI. These reforms led to the establishment of private sector banks, entry of foreign banks with certain conditions on FII, such as merchant bankers, mutual funds and pension Funds were not allowed to invest in Indian Financial markets.

Tax Reforms

Since 1991, there has been a continuous reduction in the taxes on individual incomes. The rate of corporation tax was reduced; simplification of procedures to pay the income tax was also initiated.

Foreign Exchange Reforms- Initially the rupee was devalued against foreign currencies. This led to the increase in the inflow of foreign exchange. Now usually, markets determine exchange rates based on the demand and supply of foreign exchange.

Trade and Investment Policy Reforms: To promote the efficiency of the local industries and for the adoption of modern technologies competitiveness of industrial production and foreign investment and technology into the economy was promoted. Import licensing was abolished except in case of hazardous and environmentally sensitive industries.

II. Privatisation:

Government had shed off the ownership and management of various government owned enterprises. Government started disinvestment by selling off equity of PSU's. The purpose behind such move was to improve financial discipline and to facilitate modernization.

The government has also made attempts to improve the efficiency of PSUs by giving them autonomy in taking managerial decisions.

III. Globalisation:

Globalisation is the outcome of the policies of liberalisation and privatisation. Globalisation implies greater interdependence and integration. It involves creation of networks and activities transcending economic social and geographical boundaries. The best example is of outsourcing. e.g. BPOs.

Globalization is mix bag of results. On one hand it has provided greater access to global markets, imports of high Technology etc. on the other hand developed countries expands their markets in other countries. It has also been pointed out that markets driven globalization has widened the economic disparities among nations and people.

C. Era of ICT [Information and Communication Technology]

The main objective behind any innovation in technology is to ensure that it provides comfort leisure, productivity and a better quality of life and built environment to its citizen. In India, the path towards technology induced development especially associated with ICT, was given a vent in 1984 by Rajiv Gandhi government. He adopted an effective route to development with massive programme of computerization, launched in the public sectors as well as in commercial and the public sectors undertakings and in administrative departments. By 1985, large sectors had announced computerization plans, which included railways, banking operations, schools etc.

[Information & Communication Technology can be broadly viewed under two sectors,

[Information Technology and Communication]

In 1998, National Task Force on Information Technology and Software Development prepared the blue print for making the adoption of IT as a national movement by establishing a wide network of empowered taskforce at all governmental & non-governmental level.

In 1999, the Ministry of Information Technology was established by bringing together government agencies involved in different aspects of IT for creating job to harness opportunities provided by convergence of communication technologies and to facilitate the use of IT in use of Electronic Governance.

ICT generates new possibilities to address problems of rural poverty, inequality and environmental degradation. In India, the growth of information technology and communications is very significant in the past two decades. IT

Industry in India comprises of software industry and information technology enabled services [ITES] which also includes BPO industry.

India is considered as a pioneer in software development and a favorite destination for IT-enabled services (ITES). Many other countries look to India as a model for global outsourcing and try to imitate elements of this is their own strategies.

The Government of India and respective state government in India use ICT for delivery of government information and services to citizens (G2C), business [G2B], employees [G2E], and governments [G2G]. The Government of India initiated an e-government programme during the late 1990's by adopting the Information Technology Act in 2000. The major aims of this Act were to recognize electronic contracts, prevent computer crimes and make electronic filing possible. Later in 2006, Government approved the National e governance Plan [NeGP) to enhance e government initiatives in India. Almost all state governments and UTs have also implemented their own e government services to serve their citizens and business. Some of the most prominent services include "Bhoomi" from Karnataka, "Gyandoot" from MP, "Smart government" from Andhra Pradesh, "SARI" from Tamil Nadu.

Chapter 09: [Popular Movements]

A. Introduction

According to Paul Wilkinson, Concept of Social Movements means –

- i. A social movement is a deliberate collective endeavour to promote change in any direction and by any means not excluding violence, illegality, revolution or withdrawal into utopian Community.
- ii. Ghanshyam Shah classifies movements as revolt, rebellion, reforms and revolution to bring about changes in the political system. According to Parth Mukherji, social movements are accumulative, alternative and transformatory in nature. In the view of T.K. Oommen, movements are charismatic, ideological and organisational. Some other classify movements on the basis of the participants such as Peasants, tribals, dalits, women, backwards, students etc.

B. Environment Movement

Ecological and environmental conflicts in India are claims over depleting resources of forests, land water, fisheries etc. These conflicts have been a challenge to the development of the country.

I. Chipko Movement:

Chipko movement in central Himalayas is one of the most famous movements in India. This movement began in Uttarakhand when forest department had refused permission to villagers to fell ash trees for making agricultural tools and allotted the same patch of land to sports manufacturer for commercial use.

The villagers demanded that no forest exploiting contracts should be given to outsiders and local communities should have effective control over natural resources like land, water and forests. Women's active participation in the Chipko agitation was a very novel aspect of the movement. Villagers in general, and women in particular thwarted commercial falling of trees by hugging the trees to prohibit their cutting and the name chipko originates from this very practice only. The movement achieved a victory when the then government issued a ban on felling of trees in the Himalayan regions for fifteen years, until the green cover was fully restored. Gaura Devi, a middle aged widow of the village was prominent figure of this movement. After this movement, the Chipko movement inspired many environmental movements and gave rise to series of forests against commercial felling in Himalayan foothills led by Gandhians and leftists.

II. Narmada Bachao Aandolan :

- An ambitious developmental project was launched in the Narmada valley of central India in early 80's.

- The project consisted of 30 big dams, 135 medium sized and around 3000 small dams to be constructed on the Narmada and its tributaries that flow across three states, MP, Gujarat and Maharashtra.
- Sardar Sarovar Project in Gujarat and Narmada Sagar Project in MP were two most important biggest, multipurpose dams planned under the project.
- The projects mentioned above were aimed to provide drinking water and water for irrigation, generation of electricity and increase in agricultural production.
- The project required relocation of about two and half lakh people and 245 villages were expected to get submerged. Initially locals demanded proper relocation and proper rehabilitation. It was during late 80's that the issue crystallised under the banner of Narmada Bachao Aandolan, a loose collective of local voluntary organs. NBA demanded a proper cost benefit analysis of the major developmental projects completed in the country so far. It also demanded that social cost should be calculated too with respect to such projects. Social cost meant forced settlement of project affected people, serious loss of means of livelihood and culture, depletion of ecological resources. Because of constant struggle, Right to rehabilitation has been recognized by the government and judiciary.
- A comprehensive National Rehabilitation Policy formed by the government in 2003 can be considered as an achievement of the movements like NBA.
- NBA used every available democratic strategy to put forward its demands like Pradarshan, Dharna, Gherao, Rasta Roko, Jail Bharo Aandolan, Bhook Hartal etc. The prominent face of the movement was Medha Patkar, a social activist.

III. Silent Valley Movement

- This environmental movement aimed at the protection of silent valley an evergreen forest in the Palakkad district Kerala.
- After the announcement of imminent dam construction on Kuntipuzha river, as an ideal site for electricity construction "Save silent valley" movement was started in 1973 and Kerala Sasthra Sahitya Parishad (K.S.S.P) effectively aroused the public opinion to save silent valley.
- The protesters were successful in 1985, when the then PM Rajiv Gandhi inaugurated silent valley National Park and the park was designated as the core area of Nilgiri Biosphere Reserve.
- Silent Valley is also famous for the endangered lion-tailed macaque.

IV. Fisheries Movement:

- Both in the eastern and the western coastal area of our country hundreds of thousands of families, belonging indigenous fishermen communities are engaged in fishing occupation.
- The livelihood of these fishermen worker was threatened, when the government permitted entry of mechanized trawlers and technologies like bottom trawling for large scale harvest of fish in the Indian seas.
- To protect their interests and livelihood, the fishermen came together on a national level platform as a National Fish workers Forum.
- NFF achieved their first success against Indian government's move to open the entry of commercial vessels including of MNCs in deep sea. In July 2002, NFF called for a nationwide strike to oppose the move of government to issue licenses to foreign trawlers as well.

C. Dalit Movement

After Independence, the Dalit Movement sought social justice and dignity and they attempted to build electoral majorities on a certain type of caste mobilization.

The Term "Dalit" encompasses the communities known as ex-untouchables and tribals who are officially termed as S.C. & STs respectively.

Ghanshyam Shah classified Dalit Movement into:

1. Reformative
2. Alternative Movement

Reformative: it tries to reform the caste system to solve the problem of untouchability.

Alternative: it attempts to create an alternative socio-cultural structure by conversion to some other religion or by acquiring education, economic status and political power.

In almost all Dalit movements, the issue of reservations has been an overriding phenomenon and is seen as the most decisive tool of progress.

The Bhopal Declaration (2002) adopted unanimously a new 21 point Action Agenda for Dalits for the 21st century.

Some of the important points:

- i. Recognize SC & ST women as distinct category of women.
- ii. Make the reservation quota applicable in all public & private educational institutions from primary to technological, professional levels.
- iii. Implement effectively in letter and spirit the SC & ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act 1989.
- iv. Implement the policy of reservation to SC & STs at all levels of Judiciary and the Defence forces.

The 1980s saw the rise of political organisation of the Dalits. In 1978, the Backward and Minority Classes Employees Federation BAMCEF was formed. It took a strong position in favour of political power to the bahunjan – the SC, ST and OBC, minorities. The prominent face of this movement and its subsequent outfit Shoshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti, was by Kanshi Ram.

D. OBC Movements:

- The Other Backward Classes (OBCs) are these who are as deprived as the S.C.s but without the stigma of untouchability. Andre Beteille, says "The OBC Constitute a congeries of communities of rather uncertain status".
- The Kaka Kalelkar Commission appointed by the Government of India, identified more than 3000 castes or communities as OBC in 1956. The Mandal Commission (1980) calculated that 52% of the population including non Hindus constitutes OBCs. Almost all commissions, except the Rane Commission in Gujarat (1983), used Social, educational and economic criteria for identifying 'backwardness'.
- [We have already discussed Mandal Politics in chapter, Politics of Coalition, so no need to repeat it again here]

E. New Farmers Movement

- The farmer's movements burst onto the National political stage in 1980 with the road and rail roko agitation in Nasik, Maharashtra led by the Shetkari Sangathana of Sharad Joshi.
- Sharad Joshi articulated the ideology of the movement in terms of India V/s Bharat, industrial V/s rural.
- In 1986, in Muzaffarnagar, U.P. Mahendra Singh Tikait, presided over a gathering of lakhs of villagers before which the CM of UP had been forced to appear in person to announce his acceptance of their demand for reduction of electricity charges to the old level.
- In the 1980's emerged widespread grassroots mobilization of rural dwellers like in Tamil Nadu led by Viva Sayigal Sangam, the Rajya Ryothu Sangha, Karnataka, Bhartiya Kisan Union Punjab and Haryana; Khedut Samaj and Kisan Sangh in Gujarat and the Shetkari Sangathana in Maharashtra.
- These above mentioned New Farmers Movement especially in 1980s have attracted much media and political attention and focused mainly on demanding remunerative prices for agricultural produce and lowering or elimination of government dues such as canal water charges, electricity charges, interest rates and principal of loans, etc.

F. Women's Movement

- Immediately after two decades of independence, the overall feelings with respect to women's issues were concerned with required legislative reforms. Many acts were passed to translate namesake equality into true spirits, like special Marriage Act 1954, the Hindu Marriage Act (1956), Inter State Succession Act (1956) and Dowry Prohibition Act 1961 were enacted.
- There are three prominent women organization, which are still working for the women's cause. All India women's conference (AIWC), National Federation of Indian women (1954) and All India Democratic Women's Association (AIDWA since 1981). Neither of them has direct political affiliations, but AIWC is known to have close links with congress, the NFIW with the CPI and AIDWA with CPM.
- The mid 1970's were a watershed years in Indian Politics. A series of locally organised and intense popular struggle broke out. Eg, united women's Anti Price Rise Front, which turned into a mass movement of women for consumer protection ; Chipko Movement for environment protection ; Bodhgaya movement for women's land rights.
- Nationwide protest were organised around specific incident like the Mathura Rape Case (1978), Jessica Lal Murder case, the latest ones were Nirbhaya Case Delhi (2012).
- There is growing demand for women's safety, dignity, employment, and reservation in Assemblies and Parliament; Various NGOs have also contributed a lot in women emancipation. But there are many rape cases and violence against women happening in the country despite enormous laws.

G. Civil Democratic Movement:

- It originated in the late 1960's. The 1960's were a period of political uncertainty as the conflict with the ruling class got sharpened and there were signs of mass revolt.
- The increasing arbitrariness of state behavior was the main provocation for the democratic rights movement.
- The main propeller of growth of Civil liberties movement was declaration of Emergency which suspended the fundamental freedoms guaranteed in the Part III of the constitution.
- Two major Delhi based organizations, namely the People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL) & People's Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR) started working for people's democratic rights.
- Till today these organizations are working in the interest of the vulnerable and deprived sections of the society and taking their cause on their behalf in the judiciary.

Copyright © by Vision IAS

All rights are reserved. No part of this document may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior permission of Vision IAS